THE Nation

VOLUME 147 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 29, 1938 NUMBER 18

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 437
EDITORIALS:
TAKING STOCK 440
THE DISEASE OF PLENTY 441
WHAT CHANCE HAS CHINA? 442
THE LOADED DIES COMMITTEE by Paul Y. Anderson 443
BALLOT POISON FOR LABOR by Richard L. Neuberger 444
FASCIST PACIFISM by Louis Fischer 446
NEXT ROUND IN SPAIN by Lawrence A. Fernsworth 448
POCKET GUIDE by Helen Woodward 450
IN THE WIND 451
ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 452
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
CHILDHOOD UNDER THE NAZIS by Thomas Mann 453
THE ADVERTISING ART by Stuart Chase 454
CHAMBERLAIN, SLEEPWALKER by Arthur Rosenberg 455
THE DITHYRAMBIC NOVEL by Paul Rosenfeld 456
JAPAN'S DRIVE FOR EMPIRE by T. A. Bisson 457
ARTIST OF MONTMARTRE by Jerome Mellquist 458
LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE by R. R. Palmer 458
A POET'S LIFE by Eda Lou Walton 460
SHORTER NOTICES 460
DRAMA: THE NEW HAMLET by Joseph Wood Krutch 461
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 462

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor M. R. BENDINER
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON
MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

✶

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL C. GRAY

The Shape of Things

✶

THE UTOPIAN ANTICIPATIONS OF THE FEW New Deal dailies of the country and the gloomy forebodings of the conservative press as the new wage-hour law went into effect may sound equally exaggerated in future years. Today both hopes and fears seem to have some substance. In establishing a minimum of $11 for a forty-four-hour week the statute should not prove too heavy a burden for an industrial system that has boasted of what it could do to raise the American standard of living if only it were given half a chance. But it remains unpleasantly true, as the recent report of the National Resources Committee showed, that the average annual income per family for the poorest third of our population was only $471 a year in 1935-36, or $101 less than the new minimum wage would bring for a fifty-two-week year. The law, despite its obvious shortcomings and numerous exemptions (some 10,000,000 agricultural workers, in particular, are deprived of its protection), at least establishes the important principle that hours and wages are a proper concern of government. It will not give us a middle way between capitalism and socialism or prevent future crises, but it does set up a higher barrier against the sweatshop, poverty, and malnutrition. Like every reform it will also cause some suffering, even among those whom it was meant to help. Certain areas, such as Puerto Rico, and certain industries, particularly some that have thrived on the bargain counters of depression, will find adjustment difficult or perhaps impossible. But industries that cannot afford to pay $11 a week are a drain on the nation's economy, and it would be better to add a few thousand workers to the relief rolls than to permit a few districts and a few businesses to hold down standards everywhere.

✶

ONCE AGAIN HUNGARY IS THREATENING TO march if its demands for Slovakian and Ruthenian territory are not granted. Support for its claim to Ruthenia and a common frontier with Poland appears, however, to be rapidly weakening. Hitler is known to oppose the demand because of a desire to keep Poland and Hungary

THE NATION, Published weekly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1897, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1938, by The Nation, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from being too closely linked. Rumania is opposed on account of its own minority problem. Poland has officially denied any intention of supporting Hungary by military measures. And Hungary's chief sponsor—Signor Mussolini—has been significantly silent. The Czechs, meanwhile, have shown no sign of reaching the end of their concessions, and it is probable that substantial sections of Slovakia will be handed over to Hungary and a sizable Czechoslovakian minority subjected to Magyar rule. The further concessions which the Czechs made to Hitler during the past week—the renunciation of the Soviet alliance and the ban on the Communist Party—make it relatively sure, however, that Hitler, if only to solidify his control, will back the new Czech regime against an attack by Hungary. The fact that the Hungarian Nazis are chiefly responsible for pressing the extreme demands will not disturb the Führer. For the Nazis would be in an excellent position to seize control if a rejection of the demands should lead to the fall of the Imredy government.

✶

THE ELECTIONS FOR THE FRENCH SENATE throw little light on the reaction of public opinion to the Munich deal. On the surface, the returns suggest a slight drift to the right which might be interpreted as an indorsement of Daladier's shift in policy, although the gain was almost entirely at the expense of Daladier's own Radical Socialist Party. In straight fights between candidates of the right and left, Radical Socialists were instructed to support the right just as they were told to support the left in the days of the Popular Front. The Socialists not only gained a seat but scored the most significant victory of the day. Marx Dormoy, Minister of the Interior in the Blum Cabinet, defeated Marcel Regnier, who led the Senate opposition to Blum and has been a supporter of Daladier's foreign policy. With honors drawn in what after all was only an indirect election and thus not a fair indication of public sentiment, the question is now raised as to how far Daladier may go in his program of capitulation to Hitler. Already conversations are under way looking toward a German-French non-aggression pact. While Hitler's demands have not been made public, they are said to include final abandonment of the Spanish government and financial aid for German industry. It is hinted that the decree powers which Daladier obtained from the Chamber will be used to dissolve the left parties if they offer effective resistance to his pro-Hitler policy.

✶

EAGER AFTER SIXTEEN YEARS OF DEFEAT TO wrest the governorship from the Democrats, the Republican Party in New York is doing its best to stage a hasty wedding with a dubious liberalism in time for the election. But its last-minute efforts to bolster up its reputation are embarrassed by its own indiscretions at the recent constitutional convention. The charter framed by that body under G. O. P. direction and control will be voted on in November, and its terms make a mockery of the party's progressive pretensions. The constitutional proposals will be voted on in nine sections, and only those on housing (No. 4), labor (No. 6), and social welfare (No. 8), merit a "Yes" vote. Even of these three it must be said that the labor and social-welfare propositions are little more than unnecessary platitudes and that some bad is mixed with the good in the housing amendment. No. 3, on grade-crossing elimination, was written to order for the railroads, particularly the New York Central; Governor Lehman's unsuccessful attempt to block it at the convention is to his credit. No. 7, an attempt to bar proportional representation, is so bad that the Republicans had to disavow it in their own platform. No. 2, on legislative reapportionment, is an attempt to continue minority control of the Legislature by an unjust system of representation. It is an interesting sidelight on "Racket-Buster" Dewey's anti-Tammany campaign that Amendments 7 and 2 are the result of deals between the Republican command and Tammany Hall.

✶

THE WORST BLOW THE REPUBLICANS HAVE suffered in the debate over the proposed new constitution was the unexpected action of the New York Bar Association in voting disapproval of Proposal No. 5, the judiciary article. Framed to hamstring administrative and regulatory agencies by providing for review of facts as well as law in cases on appeal, this amendment seemed made to order for the corporation lawyers who dominate the Bar Association. Yet some of the country's outstanding lawyers, including Arthur A. Ballantine, Frank L. Polk, and Thomas D. Thacher, were disinterested enough to sign a report condemning the proposal, and the Bar Association approved the report. It is worth recording that Samuel Seabury, noted New York anti-Tammany crusader, and Martin Conboy, who was long the New Deal's United States Attorney in New York, headed the minority of reactionaries who defended the judiciary article. The main body of the new constitution will be presented to the voters in Proposal No. 1, a hodgepodge containing a great deal that is indubitably bad and little that is clearly good. We suggest "No" on this proposal and also on Proposal No. 9. This little socialistic flower, blossoming, suspiciously enough, among rank reactionary weeds, allows the City of New York an additional $315,000,000 beyond its present debt limits with which to buy out the private companies that operate the city's municipally owned subways and the bankrupt elevated lines linked with these subways. Every other proposal for municipal ownership at the convention was quickly killed off. This alone won the favor of the Republican Old Guard and its Democratic allies. It also had the backing of the Morgan and Chase

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

banking interests, which are heavily involved in transit securities and see this kind of "socialism" as their only way out. Why the Socialist and Communist parties indorsed the proposal we cannot understand.

*

IN AN ATTEMPT TO SALVAGE WHAT IS LEFT of its prestige in the Near East, the British government is now taking the Arab rebellion in Palestine seriously and has authorized drastic military measures. The hope in Whitehall is that a semblance of order can be restored before the rapidly approaching date when a definitive policy for the future of Palestine must be announced. Well-informed quarters in London expect that policy to involve substantial acquiescence in Arab demands. Hence the importance of dominating the present outbreak so that surrender will not appear too blatantly as the result of force. But surrender it almost certainly will be, for the British seem to have concluded that the only alternative to throwing over the Balfour Declaration is to hold down Palestine by ruthless, permanent, military occupation. However strongly we condemn the policies which have led to this situation, it is useless to deny the essential accuracy of the diagnosis. No matter which alternative is adopted, the outlook for Zionism is black. Even if the iron hand were decided on and continued immigration permitted, the Jews could enjoy little sense of security. They would have to recognize that, however much their numbers increased, they would always be surrounded by a ring of hostile Arab countries, waiting for revenge whenever the attention of the British policeman was diverted. Realistic appraisal of the situation emphasizes the need for maintaining strong pressure on the British government both to protect the Jews already in Palestine and to take active steps to provide other havens for Jewish refugees.

*

WHATEVER SANCTITY STILL CLOTHED THE judiciary of New Jersey was ripped away last week. First the state Court of Errors and Appeals declared unconstitutional a legislative inquiry into Jersey City election frauds. The next day the state Supreme Court upheld a Jersey City statute under which Norman Thomas had been prevented from addressing an open-air meeting. Invoking all the conveniently illiberal precedents which it had earlier created, the court in substance ruled that Mayor Hague's Director of Public Safety may arbitrarily decide who may, or may not, hold an outdoor rally in Hague's domain. Nor are these decisions unrelated; both expose the myth of judicial impartiality as plainly as they provide legal camouflage for totalitarian procedures. It is scarcely necessary to say that both courts are peopled with Hague's henchmen: one judge is his former private counsel; another is no less a personage than his ex-campaign manager. The outrageousness of the court decisions, however, was matched by the performance of the national New Deal chieftains: in the same week Secretary of War Woodring came to Jersey City to address a Hague rally and bestow a benediction on Hague's senatorial candidate, William Ely, thus dramatizing with remarkable crudity the alliance between Jersey City and the national capital.

*

THE PLIGHT OF TWELVE VETERANS OF THE Lincoln Brigade now being held at Ellis Island is another evidence of the inconsistency of our Administration's liberalism. Most of them are in danger of deportation to fascist countries where death or concentration camp awaits them. Though aliens, all had lived in the United States for many years before going to Spain. The executive order of March 9, 1935, allows the Secretary of State to waive passport and visa requirements in cases of this kind. A section of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1937, gives the Secretary of Labor power to readmit to this country "aliens returning after a temporary absence to an unrelinquished domicile of seven consecutive years." This applies to all twelve veterans. "We have no home but the United States," they write in an appeal sent from Ellis Island to the newspapers. "Some of us are married here. Not one of us has a criminal record, but all earned their living here honestly. Now we are detained on Ellis Island for trying to enter the United States illegally. Right at our door stands the Statue of Liberty. But she does not seem to like us. What awaits us in France? A jail sentence and possible deportation to fascist countries where we were born."

*

CLARENCE M. WOOLLEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE Board of the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation, is sure that what business needs is more confidence and less policing. "To create the required feeling of confidence the family must pull together," he writes in the *Wall Street Journal,* that is, "the economic family, Mother Capital, Father Management, and their Children, the Wage-Earners." This is a pretty pattern and certainly far cozier than the one worked out by those roughnecks Marx and Engels. But there are some things we should like to know about Mr. Woolley's happy matriarchy. First, doesn't he ever expect the children to grow up and demand more ice cream—or would he stunt their growth with an overdose of fairy tales? Must it be taken for granted that Mother knows best? And Father, amenable as he must be to Mother's every whim—won't he go senile before his time? And finally, when the children decide they've had about all the spinach they can stand, must they put up with "Spare the tear-gas and spoil the child"? Or at this point wouldn't it be better to haul the whole family off to the Domestic Relations Court, or NLRB, as it is sometimes called?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taking Stock

THE casualties of Munich are not to be comprehended in terms of boundaries or economic loss or even in the imminent collapse of empires. They include, just as significantly, the individual victims of betrayal—the refugees without a refuge, whose faces, blasted clear of hope, we have seen in the newsreels and the picture supplements. The loss of liberty by peoples who have been tolerably free—a consequence that has scarcely begun to make itself felt—is another item in a total not yet found. Only by degrees are the figures in the monstrous calculation falling into line; only by degrees are we coming to realize that the final sum will be a new world.

We are slow to understand because one of the chief casualties of Munich is the capacity to grasp its full sense—even among those whose business it is to analyze the evidence. This is a fact that may loom large in the final toll of calamity, if only because it insures the lead in this critical time to the confident, who are in all countries the ruthless and aggressive.

The feeble resistance of the labor parties in France and Great Britain to the Daladier-Chamberlain plot is a clear example of a condition that in some measure affects the whole left—and many men and groups not usually included in the left. In the liberal journals of England and the United States the desperate struggle for a foothold in the future is as evident as it has been in the weak rebuttals in the British and French parliaments. They appraise the past sharply, assign blame confidently; but when they look ahead, it is with anxious uncertainty. Whether to support or oppose armament programs, whether to defend distant possessions, whether to prepare for war at all or to cling to some tenuous formula of appeasement—liberals and pacifists are uncertain. The more extreme isolationist pacifists begin to doubt whether the policy of jumping into a hole and pulling it in after them will really protect our beleaguered democracy; or whether moral force will distract Hitler from his further ambitions. As for those, like *The Nation,* who have urged the need of collective security, who have insisted that only a solid, democratic resistance would stop fascist aggression, they have the sorry consolation of knowing that they were right—and that is all. Even the Socialists and Communists are for once without a formula. Revolutionary opposition and class war are all but ended in the democratic countries and will be hard to revive in the face of immediate armed threats; and the tactic of the popular front has met its death blow. Russia withdraws visibly behind its fortifications, and repents its venture in international cooperation. Before the mental and political conditions necessary to a vital socialist movement reemerge, fascism may have won the day.

We have little enough time either to recover our confidence or to devise a technique for making democracy prevail here and in the rest of the Western world. But it will take time. Only a Churchill or a Lloyd George can meet the challenge by simply shouting for arms and a bold front. Those of us who oppose fascism from the left benches must first discover and then unite in support of a consistent, democratic foreign policy. Only if we make sure of the moral basis of such action can we afford either to support arms programs or encourage "appeasement" plans. In the United States it is relatively easy to project a beginning of such a policy, impossible yet to see its full implications. But even a beginning is more than has been accomplished so far, in spite of a New Deal government and a State Department committed to good-neighborliness and trade pacts. That strange mixture of democratic good-will, moral indignation, irresponsible detachment, and a sharp nose for profits that characterizes our foreign policy has, we fear, all the earmarks of the current American mood. Liberal opinion must agree on the elements of a program and then press them upon the people and the government.

It is not frivolous to demand, as a first essential of a sane policy toward Europe, that Ambassador Kennedy be either withdrawn from London or firmly repressed. His boyish enthusiasm for collaboration with dictators is as shocking today as it may prove troublesome tomorrow, and it affords a striking symbol of all that we must oppose. The essence of the matter is that American action must no longer be geared into the cog-wheels of reactionary British policy. It was bad to be subservient before Munich; now it is intolerable.

The obvious corollary of this position is that we should adopt an independent course toward Spain. Time is now short. At this moment Chamberlain and Mussolini are working out the terms of Spain's final betrayal; a decision is promised within a few days. If President Roosevelt really cares about the survival of democracy he will raise the embargo against Loyalist Spain immediately; no other single act would more sharply mark our recognition of the meaning of Munich or embarrass more the gentlemen who are planning a new dismemberment.

A few other points of immediate policy on which liberals can agree may be put briefly:

1. We must stop arming and supplying Japan for its conquest of China.

2. We must stop nagging and threatening Mexico. A democratic foreign policy demands friendly support of the Cárdenas administration.

3. We must make no trade agreements with Germany or Italy whatever the apparent justification.

4. We must be bold and humane in our treatment of the refugee problem. A willingness to take in a fair share of the homeless victims of Hitler would do more than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diplomacy or financial backing to induce other countries to open their doors.

These scattered items are only the least common denominator of a democratic foreign policy. As such they may help to integrate the efforts and mental energies of American liberals, and serve as points of departure into fields still unexplored. No arms program or plan of industrial integration can be intelligently discussed, much less accepted or fought, except from some such position as is outlined above. As a nation we are heading into responsibilities and dangers new in our experience. Let us be certain at least that our government approaches them along a road that avoids the ambuscades of Chamberlain diplomacy.

The Disease of Plenty

ONCE again the disease of plenty is troubling our farm lands. Despite all efforts to adjust supply to demand by means of crop control, one bounteous harvest has created a huge surplus of grains and cotton and forced down prices, not indeed to the lowest levels of the great depression, but to well below those ruling in 1933. Within the framework of existing legislation efforts are being made to meet the situation by crop loans, by subsidized dumping in export markets, and by buying up farm products for relief distribution. These measures, no doubt, are helping to put some sort of bottom under prices, but they cannot be regarded as other than palliatives. Hence it is now open season for new farm policies.

Within the Administration two apparently discordant trends of thought are in evidence. The President, if correctly reported by Senator Josh Lee of Oklahoma, favors a two-price system with growers subjected to rigid production control but assured a profitable return on the domestically consumed portion of their crops. The surplus would be exported for what it would bring on the open market, but it was not made clear just how the margin between domestic and foreign prices was to be met. Mr. Roosevelt also seems to have suggested, without elaborating the idea, an agreement prorating the world market among the chief agricultural nations.

It must be said that, while we cannot abandon export markets, the outlook in that direction for our great staples, wheat and cotton, is exceedingly bleak. The Peace of Munich means a huge increase in the domain of autarchy where the price factor no longer counts. No matter how cheaply we offer our wheat, the dictator countries will prefer the expensive product of their own fields or what they can obtain by barter from their economic vassals. More and more Britain will become the only dependable market, and with all exporting countries competing for its favors, the declining tendency of sterling is likely to depress prices as it did in 1931 and 1932.

With international trade so hampered, it seems to us that Mr. Wallace, who is seeking a solution of the farm problem in the development of the home market, is reaching nearer the heart of the matter than his chief. He, too, is considering a "two-price" scheme, but instead of subsidizing the foreign consumer he hopes to dump the surplus on that huge army of our own people whose incomes do not enable them to purchase a full diet at existing prices.

There, indeed, is a market ripe for development. According to a study of diets made by the Department of Agriculture, the minimum cost of an adequate though rather limited diet for a family of four at average retail prices during 1935 was $9.15 per week, or $475.80 per annum. If we compare this figure with the finding of the National Resources Committee that the average family income of one-third of the nation was $471 in 1935-36, we have a vivid illustration of the old truism that the farmer cannot prosper unless the whole country prospers.

Mr. Wallace's problem cannot be preserved in cold storage until poverty is abolished, and meanwhile his efforts to find a partial solution by improving the nourishment of the underfed merit encouragement. It is important not to exaggerate the possibilities. It is improbable, for instance, that much can be done to relieve the farmer of his surplus wheat. Our poorest families do not usually lack bread: they do suffer grievously from an ill-balanced diet in which the health-protecting foods—meat, dairy products, fruit, and vegetables—are inadequately represented.

Granted, however, that sufficient surpluses exist of many commodities lacking in our poorer homes, the question remains how to distribute them so as to obtain the maximum social benefits. Mr. Wallace has yet to reduce his plans to practical form. His first announcement pointed toward some kind of scheme to sell goods to a minority at prices lower than those paid by the general public. The reactionary press has not been slow to point out the difficulties involved, and it is certain that a double distribution system would arouse terrific hostility in the retail trade. An enlargement of existing schemes for putting surplus commodities in the hands of relief clients might prove easier, but if this were used as an excuse for cutting down monetary payments there might be little increase in total food consumption.

We would therefore urge Mr. Wallace to consider the school rather than the family as the main vehicle of distribution. If he looks abroad, he will find Britain operating a scheme whereby all school children can get milk daily below cost. In Sweden a more ambitious plan is being fostered by the government, which proposes to employ funds hitherto used for food-export subsidies to provide free lunches for all public-school children.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Would it not be possible for us to give our school children one well-balanced meal daily? It is difficult to believe that such a scheme would not gain cooperation from both the general public and the local authorities, and it would surely make a dent in the surplus by adding importantly to total consumption.

What Chance Has China?

WITH the loss of Canton and the threatened fall of Hankow, China faces the greatest peril of its thirty or more centuries of existence. It is true that this is not the first time that China has been overrun by a foreign invader. Many times its cities have been sacked and pillaged by barbarian hordes, only to rise in new splendor after the foreigner had been ejected or absorbed. But if Japan's record in Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria may be taken as a guide, China is confronted by no ordinary conqueror today. Japan has weapons at its disposal far more deadly than the tanks and bombers with which it beat Canton into submission. In Manchuria, for example, it has closed every university, college, and high school in order to prevent the Chinese from obtaining the tools of modern science. It has systematically and deliberately debauched millions by a government-operated drug traffic which is foisted on the population. Native Chinese business enterprise has been destroyed, and millions have been reduced to a state of economic serfdom. The same tactics are being used today in North China; tomorrow they will be used in Canton.

Knowing what is in store for them, the Chinese are unlikely to give in despite the decisive defeat of their armed forces. Previous Japanese victories have always found an important group in favor of submission, and the Japanese have staked much on the hope that, with the capture of Hankow, Chiang Kai-shek would be ready to sue for peace. Though Canton was apparently captured by the aid of "silver bullets"—the first important defection since the beginning of the war—there seems little chance that Japan's hope will be fulfilled. The struggle will merely enter a new phase.

If Hankow falls, the possibilities of frontal resistance to the Japanese will be practically exhausted. Japan will control the sea coast, the principal cities, and all the main arteries of communication. But if the main Chinese armies adopt the guerrilla tactics so successfully utilized by the Eighth Route Army in the north, Japan will have an almost insuperable task in merely holding these areas and keeping the lines of communication open. It will be in no position to exploit this vast territory economically. So far the Chinese have made relatively little use of guerrilla tactics in Central and South China. But if they can be developed along the lines worked out in the north, Japan will be forced to keep huge garrisons at each of the strategic centers under its control. Otherwise, roving Chinese armies, aided by organized peasants, could create havoc by attacking the weak spots in the Japanese defenses. Neutral observers report that the Japanese have lost three or four men to every one lost by the Chinese in the guerrilla skirmishes in North China. The puppet regimes of Peiping and Nanking have been complete failures, and many garrisoned cities in Japanese-held territories are virtually beleaguered and compelled to send armed raiding parties into the surrounding country to collect taxes. To make any headway toward suppression of guerrilla activity in the north and at the same time establish stable provincial governments it is estimated that Japan would have to double the size of its invading army and leave it in China indefinitely.

All of this presupposes, however, a change of heart on the part of the central Chinese government. Heretofore, reactionary elements have opposed the general adoption of partisan warfare because of fear of arming the masses. A reorganization of the government may be necessary before Chiang will be free to adopt such new tactics, which he personally is known to favor.

Along with any change in military strategy there might well be a fundamental shift in foreign policy. Britain's failure to protect its own tremendous stakes at Hongkong, which as the port for Canton depends upon the resources of the captured region, must have shaken those who have placed reliance on British imperial interests. A showdown may be expected in the near future on the basis of reports that Britain is attempting to negotiate a Munich settlement for the Far East. If China rejects this, it may have to turn increasingly to the Soviet Union for the supplies necessary to maintain resistance.

Given a modest amount of aid from abroad, the Chinese still have a chance of wearing Japan down and gaining an eventual victory. Despite the seizure of the specie supplies in Chinese banks, Japan's foreign exchange is low. The costs of occupation, consolidation, and suppression will be almost as large as those of frontal warfare. On the economic front, the announcement that the Celanese Corporation of America will erect a $10,000,000 plant for the production of a new artificial silk, following a statement of similar intentions by du Pont, carries more important implications in the long run than the capture of Canton, reported the same day. Japan may not have bitten off more than it can chew, but it is certainly attempting to swallow more than it can digest. With the extreme military clique now in the saddle at Tokyo, there is little likelihood that the army will be satisfied even with its latest conquests. Far more united and determined than it was a year ago, China still has the advantage of overwhelming numbers. In the end these may prove decisive.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Loaded Dies Committee

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, October 24

IF THE dirty political job which the Dies committee perpetrated last week on Governor Frank Murphy does not succeed in defeating him for reelection we shall be safe in concluding that the voters of Michigan have a natural antipathy toward political stench. The people of Nebraska registered such an aversion several years ago in reacting to the "Grocer Norris" plot against Senator Norris, and events may demonstrate that their response was symptomatic of the Middle West's feeling toward the lower forms of political trickery. From the beginning I contended that those who dismissed the Dies committee's "investigation" as a cheap hippodrome, and its chairman as a harmless clown, were making a grave mistake. The Texas hatchet man's limitations are painfully obvious, but he is equal to the chores assigned him by subtler men. Those chores were: (1) to offset the La Follette committee's disclosures of the espionage, terrorism, and violence practiced against organized labor in the more barbarous areas of industry; (2) to create an impression that the C. I. O. is dominated by Communists; (3) to swell the torrent of lying propaganda against the National Labor Relations Board; and (4) to snipe at every exposed public official who had demonstrated friendship for organized labor or devotion to the Bill of Rights. If a more disgraceful enterprise was ever carried out with public funds I have forgotten it.

The attempt on Murphy's political life was as crude as it was cowardly, but we have yet to learn whether it was ineffective. Through four solid days the committee, represented in the persons of Chairman Dies and Representative Mosier, shoveled testimony into the record to create the illusion that the United Automobile Workers of America is dominated by Communists and that the sitdown strikes were conceived and directed by Communists. It was staged with all the care that Dies could manage, although it involved the use of some malodorous labor spies and a pretense of accepting the most preposterous and conflicting yarns ever heard outside an insane asylum. The premeditated climax was reached Friday when a circuit judge and a former city manager of Flint were put on the stand to declare that Governor Murphy encouraged the sitdowners, and by so doing precipitated a "complete breakdown of civil authority" and was guilty of "treason" to the state. The obvious and intended implication was that Murphy, although a devout Roman Catholic, had worked hand in glove with the Communists. He will be up for reelection on November 8. The judge was Paul V. Gadola, whose writs ordering the evacuation of two strike-bound Fisher Body plants in February, 1937, the sheriff refused to execute, and whose contempt citations against officers of the automobile workers' union the sheriff failed to serve. Judge Gadola blamed these omissions on Murphy. The "treason" charge was made by John M. Barringer, whose bitterness toward the Governor rendered him almost incoherent. An interesting fact which Dies omitted to bring out, but which reporters subsequently elicited from Barringer, was that the Flint City Council fired him as city manager for having assisted in the organization of a gang of vigilantes during the strike.

However, Friday's tawdry performance was lightened by a touch of comedy unwittingly provided by Representative Mosier, a Democratic coat-tail rider from Ohio who got into Congress in the 1936 landslide, turned against the New Deal, and was soundly whipped in the recent primary. Addressing Judge Gadola at the conclusion of the latter's stump speech from the witness stand, the Buckeye lame duck said: "Just to get this straight, let us show there was no politics in it. Governor Murphy is a Democrat and you are a Democrat." "I am not," roared the purple jurist. "I am a Republican. There wasn't a Democratic judge in Michigan until this New Deal coat-tail parade began." Poor Mosier collapsed. Why doesn't somebody tell him these things?

Nevertheless, there is a phase of the record which *should* be set straight. Who is responsible for placing such a character as Dies at the head of this committee? Who is responsible for this whole vicious fraud which poses as an investigation of "un-American activities" but which in fact is a promotion bureau for American fascism? The appointments were made by William B. Bankhead, Speaker of the House of Representatives, whom I never regarded as anything but a narrow Southern reactionary masquerading as a friend of the New Deal and stabbing it in the back at every safe opportunity. Senator Norris got his number during some of the fenagling which was attempted against the TVA, and if the whole world hasn't got it now it must be deaf, dumb, and blind. Sam Rayburn, the Democratic leader in the House, is a decent man, and I am reluctant to impute to him any of the blame for the Dies committee. Yet it is difficult to see how he can escape some part of it. He must be thoroughly mortified.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hitler's momentary retirement from the front page has enabled Herbert Hoover and John Hamilton to emerge from among the want ads, and thus we learn that the Republican awkward squad is on the march again. It is not an inspiring spectacle, or one calculated to encourage those who thirst for intelligent criticism of the New Deal. The new jokes dug up by Hoover's ghost writer fail to disguise his sense of martyrdom and his pathetic hope that history will yet "vindicate" him. Imagine Old Sourpuss calling for the election of a Congress that will be independent of the President! Has anyone forgotten how he once whined and sulked when Congress showed its independence of him? Does anyone fail to recall how he fumed and stormed at poor Jim Watson for failing to keep the Senate under control? Does not everyone remember that when Congress insisted on providing relief for hungry women and children, Hoover shrieked that it was "playing politics with human misery" to extend aid beyond hogs and mules? I cannot believe the man possesses a single ounce of intellectual integrity. He is merely the clumsiest and most transparent of politicians, and it would not surprise me any day to hear that he is running on a platform of $49.50 every Wednesday and a turkey in every oven. Hamilton does manage occasionally to be amusing. To most of us who eke out a living by observing and writing about politics, it has been an axiom from time immemorial that business improvement helps the party in power. But Hamilton has put a novel twist on it. He told an audience recently that business was improving because of the prospect that the Republicans would return to power. In some vague way which I am unable to describe he reminds me of the ostrich story. Six ostriches were standing in the desert, their heads buried deep in the sand. Up strolled a seventh, looked around, and remarked: "Where *is* everybody?"

Ballot Poison for Labor

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, October 16

CRUCIAL moments seem always to be recurring in the American labor movement, but in Oregon and Washington a genuine crisis is imminent—one which may bring down on the head of trade unionism the most drastic anti-labor legislation proposed in America for half a century. On the ballot in these two Far Western states is a pair of initiative measures drafted to annihilate the labor movement. Labor unions in the region would be reduced to empty shells. Strikes and boycotts would be rendered illegal. Unions would not be permitted to collect funds for political or economic action. Even the conservative Portland *Oregonian* calls the initiative a vengeful scheme to restrict working people's rights as American citizens.

The Oregon bill, to be considered by citizens of the state on November 8, is the more all-inclusive and severe of the two, and thus the more important to analyze. Section 1 outlaws any strike or labor dispute not between an employer and a majority of all his employees. This would completely demolish the craft-union structure of the A. F. of L. For example, Portland's largest department store has 2,500 employees, about 100 of whom are truck-drivers. The truck-drivers could not strike unless they persuaded 1,151 of the store's other employees to strike with them. The same rule would apply to janitors, waitresses, bookkeepers, and other particular crafts. But what about the C. I. O., encompassing whole industries? Another part of the same section takes care of that. It declares jurisdictional disputes to be a crime and provides that "the refusal of an employer to deal with either party to any such jurisdictional controversy shall not operate to make the dispute a labor dispute within the meaning of this act." Thus 99 per cent of the workers in a concern might belong to a bona fide union, but the employer could recognize a company union comprising the remaining 1 per cent and thus cause a jurisdictional conflict which would outlaw any attempt on the part of the 99 per cent to strike or take other militant action.

The bill is not content merely to forbid strikes. It also forbids practically all other forms of trade-union activity. Picketing and boycotting are made criminal offenses except where labor disputes exist within the meaning of the act. Obviously, no labor dispute within the meaning of the act will ever exist. This provision of the bill is so sweeping that anti-Nazis would be in legal jeopardy for boycotting stores selling merchandise from Germany. Peace advocates could not boycott Japanese silk.

Section 3 of the measure would make it unlawful for labor unions to collect funds larger than those needed for "legitimate requirements." And there is not the least assurance that strikes or political campaigns would be regarded as "legitimate requirements." As the Portland *Oregonian* points out: "The unions raised funds to oppose the bill. Proponent groups raised funds to promote it. The bill would prevent labor from raising such funds in the future, while leaving the opposing groups free to do so." The measure, furthermore, gives any one member

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a union the right to tie up all the union's funds in litigation. "Stool pigeon's paradise" is the popular designation of this particular provision.

The state's anti-injunction act would to all intents and purposes be repealed by a clause providing for injunctions in labor difficulties. Another clause makes it a crime punishable by a year in jail or a $500 fine to discourage anyone, by direct or indirect means, from going to work for an employer who wants to hire him. This would subject to criminal action a union member who voted to expel a fellow-unionist for strike-breaking. And finally, in apparent solicitude for the harassed farmer, the bill twice expressly forbids interference with the buying, selling, or handling of agricultural products, but in each instance takes care also to specify *"all other products."*

The Washington initiative is similar to that of Oregon. The anti-strike provisions are not quite so sweeping, but several supplementary clauses nearly make up the difference: the employer is the sole arbiter of who shall be eligible to participate in strike votes, and no union can call a strike within thirty days after it presents its demands. Needless to say neither thirty days nor one day has to elapse between the announcement and application of a wage cut.

Signatures to these initiatives were obtained during a campaign designed to spread the belief that the A. F. of L. consisted only of "goons" and racketeers and the C. I. O. only of aliens and Communists. The bills represent a new crest in enmity toward American trade unionism. A huge slush fund raised by shipping interests, department stores, lumber companies, and industrial associations is being spent to convince the people that the initiative originated with irate and persecuted farmers. Cowboy ballads and rural songs are interspersed on the radio with appeals for help that allegedly come straight from the soil. Listed as the measure's official sponsors are four so-called farm organizations: Associated Farmers, Oregon Farm Bureau, Eastern Oregon Wheat League, and Hood River Growers' Club. Actually these groups have little or no membership; Associated Farmers is a strictly vigilante outfit that stems from California. In fact, the largest organization of farmers in the state, the Oregon State Grange, is unequivocally opposed to the anti-labor measure. Ray W. Gill, master of the Oregon Grange and a member of the National Grange Executive Committee, has branded the bill a scheme to wipe out liberalism in the Pacific Northwest. In consequence the most vicious sort of abuse has been heaped on Gill by the backers of the measure.

Not long ago the biennial Grange election took place. The Associated Farmers' clique ran a slate of candidates. An amazing thing happened: all over Oregon all sorts of reactionary elements suddenly developed a vital interest in the internal affairs of a fraternal organization. Between potshots at the Jews and apologies for Hitler, the Corvallis *Gazette-Times,* the most vociferous newspaper proponent of the measure, vilified Gill and the other Grange leaders. The anti-New Deal *Oregon Journal* featured news of the subordinate granges carried by the Associated Farmers gang. A wide variety of political sharpshooters hung around Grange halls trying to influence the election. Nearly 10,000 farmers voted. Gill and his ticket piled up a two-to-one victory. The vigilantes had their answer.

Over the radio and in newspaper advertisements the electorate of Oregon is told how the farmers constantly and fervently pray that the initiative will pass. One automobile dealer who paid for such broadcasts admitted carelessly, "It is no secret that business men of Oregon are actively supporting the bill and providing most of the money for the campaign." Last week the Grange circulated questionnaires listing fourteen major issues before the people, one of which was "curtailing labor unions." Hundreds of dirt farmers answered the questionnaire and specified the issues in which they were most concerned. Bonneville Dam power came first, followed by marketing cooperatives and old-age pensions. Curtailing labor unions finished a poor eleventh, just above county roads. Singularly enough, the very individuals who now shed crocodile tears for labor-bedeviled farmers are the people who for years have kept the farmers from realizing their aspirations in regard to power, pensions, and cooperatives.

The California ballot, too, contains a proposal aimed at the unions. Although not so drastic as the Oregon and Washington measures, it is bad enough. All sorts of restrictions would be placed on strikes and picketing, and employers would be able to sue unions for damages on the slightest provocation. The passage of an anti-picketing ordinance at the recent Los Angeles municipal election is an ominous sign that the bill may be adopted. Liberals in the state, however, find some comfort in the fact that it is not as extreme as the Oregon bill. Also, the free-speech limitations in the California measure may be found to be violations of the state and federal constitutions. It is certain that all three Pacific Coast initiatives contradict both the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act, if not the Constitution of the United States itself.

A sad circumstance is that the trade unions are not entirely without blame for the conditions giving rise to the anti-labor initiatives now before the voters of the Pacific Coast states. William Green might not have to bewail the Oregon bill now if a year ago he had warned Dave Beck against the use of the prize fighters and plug-uglies of the Teamsters' Union "goon squad." Louis Stark of the New York *Times* has called the bills a natural outgrowth of the bitter labor battles on the Pacific Coast. The A. F. of L. boycott of C. I. O. lumber mills

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has been a disgrace to labor. Even the reactionary *Oregon Voter* has described it as an act of "A. F. of L. ruthlessness to force men to give up the union of their choice." But the C. I. O. has not shown great wisdom in choosing aliens for its two key positions in the Northwest: Harry Bridges of the longshoremen and Harold Pritchett of the lumberjacks. The prejudice against aliens may not be a healthy one, but it exists and must be given consideration. The able but egotistical Pritchett has not helped matters by holding political meetings and telling people how to vote. Most Americans prefer to receive their political advice from citizens of the United States.

These facts have given the Associated Farmers and their big-business backers an opportunity to exaggerate out of all proportion the "goon" and alien influence in the labor unions. Yet in spite of everything it is my guess now that the initiatives will be defeated in Oregon and Washington, although with not many votes to spare. The people have become awakened to the real sponsorship of the bills; the "outraged farmer" veneer is wearing thin. And the Washington Commonwealth Federation and the A. F. of L. have done a good job in persuading the Democratic Party in Washington to go on record against the scheme to destroy the unions. Senator Lewis Schwellenbach, the man in the Northwest closest to President Roosevelt, is expected to speak over the radio soon. This will help tremendously, since it will indicate to the electorate that the President is hostile to the bills—and Roosevelt's popularity along the Pacific seaboard is as great as ever.

Fascist Pacifism

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Paris, October 13

THE betrayal and consequent dismemberment of Czechoslovakia is a major world tragedy for which those responsible will yet pay dearly. Munich, which finally abolished Versailles, is worse than Versailles. The man who obtained the leadership of a great nation by disingenuously exploiting the evils of one peace treaty has dictated another and greater abomination to an unconquered state. Versailles lasted nineteen years. Will Munich last nineteen months? Czechoslovakia was butchered at Munich. But simultaneously England, France, the Soviet Union, and President Roosevelt's foreign policy suffered a crushing defeat.

The Germans, defeated and torn by internal strife, were nevertheless summoned to Versailles and allowed to present their observations. But the Czechs could not even enter the *Führerhaus* where the Big Four "deliberated." Perhaps the most insidious result of Munich is its glorification of the personal-contact way of settling disputes. For it gives the whip hand to the fascists, and in this it reflects the larger political situation. When Ivan Maisky, the Soviet ambassador in London, asked Lord Halifax why no Soviet representative had been invited to Munich—Russia was more concerned in this matter than Italy—the British Foreign Secretary replied that Hitler and Mussolini "would almost certainly be reluctant to sit in conference" with a Bolshevik. Is the U. S. S. R. to be permanently excluded from European affairs because Berlin and Rome dislike Communists? Suppose Hitler and the Duce refuse to meet Blum or Attlee or Eden or Duff Cooper? Are the people of France and England always to elect men with whom the dictators are willing to treat? I am sure that this consideration will hereafter play an important role in the choice of political leaders in the democracies. Munich must affect internal politics in England, France, Czechoslovakia, and many other countries. Munich is regarded as a success because Chamberlain and Daladier gave Hitler what he wanted. This is the first condition of the future peace. The Munich system will last as long as there are Chamberlains in Downing Street and Daladiers in the Palais Matignon.

The immediate prospect, therefore, is a continued rout of the democracies before fascist forward thrusts. The vivisection of Spain will be attempted. Berlin has inspired press stories regarding "mediation" in China. The fascists will be glad to end on their own terms the wars they start. That is fascist pacifism.

The worm may turn, the wishful thinkers prophesy. Indeed, the delirious joy over dishonored promises and pacts, self-injury, and betrayal of friends is already yielding to a more sober assessment of the serious losses incurred. But illusions are dangerous. The Duff Coopers, Edens, Churchills, Tardieus, Mandels, Kerillises, and the like are honestly chagrined over Hitler's success, but if the tide of criticism carried these dissident imperialists to power they might easily feel disposed to try certain of the totalitarian methods by which that success was achieved. What the Kaiser failed to do for German imperialism by war Hitler has almost done without war. Nothing would be more natural than that this should evoke the envy and emulation of ambitious British or French imperialists.

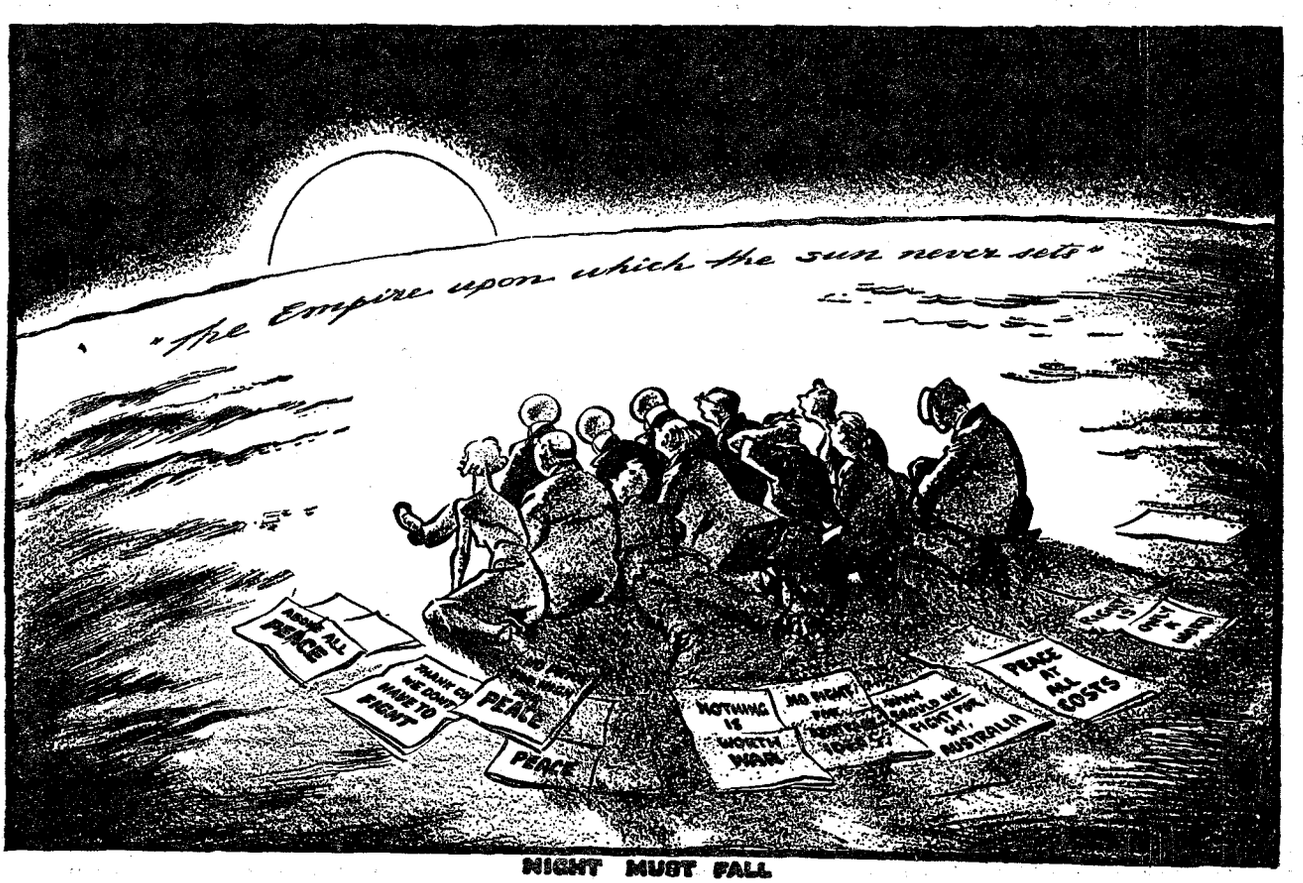
Paul Faure, the French Socialist leader, says that the glorious new peace should be followed by disarmament.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

His naivete makes him logical. But Chamberlain and Daladier have seen Hitler. The Western powers manifest their complete distrust in the stability and permanence of the Munich peace by announcing that they will arm to the teeth. Lord Baldwin has urged the mobilization of industry, and the *Times* and others are agitating for "national service," a patriotic euphemism for general peace-time conscription of man power. In France, those so rash as to reveal the incongruity between such warlike efforts and the hilarious celebration after Munich, resembling the rejoicing of November 11, 1918, garner threats but as yet no comprehension. Numerous French right politicians who opposed surrender to Hitler have been publicly and privately threatened with assassination, and a poster now placarded on Paris walls begins with "Vive Daladier" and ends by demanding the "dissolution of the Communist Party." Anti-Semitism is on the increase in France and especially in Alsace-Lorraine, where Nazi agents are operating openly. If taxes and prices mount, if another assault is undertaken upon the forty-hour week, the workingmen, now impervious to the appeal of national defense which the bourgeoisie itself ignored in the recent crisis, will resist, and resistance may invite repression. A democracy weakened by the blows of foreign enemies succumbs more easily to domestic enemies. Is that why Flandin desired Hitler's triumph over France via Czechoslovakia?

Foreign political changes are so profound nowadays that they induce social changes. The reverse is likewise true. Czechoslovakia, robbed of its industrial regions in Bohemia and Teschen, becomes more agrarian and therefore more susceptible to home fascism. That will be the bridge to "amicable" relations with Germany. Always dependent on Germany and Poland for transit, Czechoslovakia will hereafter be increasingly dependent on them for trade. It will be a second Yugoslavia, where German exports and imports determine foreign policy and where, since Munich, the Croat, Slovene, and liberal oppositions, who advocated a rapprochement with France, are of course in full retreat. Rumania today awaits Nazi surgical treatment. In Hungary the army is pro-German, anti-Semitism is flowering, and Horthy obeys Hitler. A month ago it looked as if the Witos Peasant Party in Poland might oust the pro-fascist Beck and the black reactionaries. (Witos was pro-Czech and Benes helped Witos.) Beck has won Teschen and a major internal victory. His policy of siding with the aggressors has been vindicated. Ostentatiously he snubs the democracies. On October 1, after Warsaw had submitted the Teschen ultimatum to Prague, the French and British ambassadors to Poland asked for interviews with Beck. They wished to mediate. Beck refused to receive the Frenchman, and the English envoy was told by a subordinate that Poland needed no advice. This is unprecedented. When the big democracies lose prestige, democracy in the small states loses face and strength.

Most disturbing is the reinforcement of the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany. It is not mere gossip but



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a fact that Mussolini did not dare, in view of the general discontent with two unfinished and unprofitable wars, to mobilize for a third in behalf of the hated axis partner; and it was only on the Tuesday before the Thursday of Munich that he called up 700,000 men. The King, it is said, refused to sign a general mobilization order. Italian economic conditions are bad, and even aircraft factories have been idle for want of raw materials. People demonstrated against "war and fascism." But the Duce, who cannot win wars, has come back from Munich a hero of the peace. His position is strengthened. So is Hitler's. In defying Chamberlain—for there were no real negotiations at Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, or Munich—Hitler overrode the advice of his army and navy advisers. He pushed on to the breaking-point because he never believed that England and France would fight. He was proved correct, and those who differed with him must admit it and bow to his stronger nerves and superior instincts and judgment. Opposition from the right and left will be disheartened and demoralized. The enemy's greatest hope now lies in the mistakes Hitler may make. He may go too fast.

Even a diplomatic Anglo-French success in the Czechoslovakian crisis would have seriously embarrassed the Nazi regime. A war would have ended in the political death of Mussolini and Hitler, and it could only have been successfully waged by the democracies with the political support of the working classes and the armed support of the U. S. S. R., and after the rescue of republican Spain. The ruling classes of England and France regarded this as too high a price to pay for national security. The bourgeoisie of the Western democracies feared to win the war. Hitler knew too much to start it. Those who understand him, his propaganda, and German conditions will always refuse to acknowledge that he ever intended to march. Churchill, Litvinov, Duff Cooper, and numerous other keen observers expressed this view. Now this is important merely for the comfort and justification of those who had preached a firmness that would prevent war and the present political and social débâcle, preached it not only in September, 1938, but in September, 1931, when it all began in Manchuria, and consistently thereafter.

Never in twenty years have the spirits of thinking people been so low. Friends meet and find no ray of hope. Advocates of collective security are reexamining their ideas. Pacifism has become sordid and expensive. It means siding with Chamberlain—as Maxton of the Independent Labor Party did in the House of Commons the other day—and embracing Hitler, as Chamberlain did all last month. Europe grows black and meaningless. The next test will be Spain. What the Czechoslovak affair took away, Spain might partly restore. If England and France bestir themselves belatedly to eject the Italian-German axis from Spain, it will be because, after their united strategic positions have been so gravely endangered by events in Central and Eastern Europe, they feel the necessity of making a stand in the Mediterranean. It will not be to bolster up democracy and check fascism. Yet that would be the effect.

Next Round in Spain

BY LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

Marseilles, October 12

THE title of this article was suggested by a particularly uninformed headline, "Last Round in Spain," which last April appeared prominently in the London *Times*. Wishful thinkers, abetted by wishful diplomatic agents stationed in Spain, have been seeing the "last round in Spain" for a considerable time. Chamberlain's agreement with Mussolini last April—the Anglo-Italian pact which is still in suspense at this writing—was based upon information to that effect supplied by British agents in rebel territory. Unfortunately Spain at that time was not entering any "last round" but only rolling up its sleeves for the next one. The body blow delivered at the Ebro last July still has the enemy sagging. Surveying the situation since my return to Spain, I get the impression that the civil war still has some tough rounds to go, with excellent chances of victory for the Loyalist government—provided the cards were not completely stacked against it at Munich.

At close quarters the Spanish scene looks very different from the distant perspective. In the United States even some of the republic's well-wishers are inclined to opine gloomily that an ultimate Loyalist defeat is inevitable, their defeatist attitude having been induced, no doubt, by the stories which a short ten months ago were being front-paged in American papers. But one cannot go up to the Ebro fighting lines as I did a few days ago or view the complex and extensive preparations for resistance in what Spaniards call the "rearguard" without feeling that the last round is not yet.

The army is united, disciplined, hopeful, and gives the government its fullest confidence. The audacious Ebro offensive on the night of July 24-25 heightened its courage and its morale, and it feels that the war's turning-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point has come. The Ebro blow seems to have checkmated the rebel plans for the rest of the year. And after that, as the Spaniards say, *Mañana es otro dia*—tomorrow is another day. At the rear the situation on the surface has immeasurably improved over what it was a year ago, except for the food supply. Law and order and the authority of the government have been firmly established —let that fact sink in deeply. War industries have been more efficiently organized and recently have been militarized. The Negrin government is easing the frictions between the central and the Catalan government, and the Catalan war support, which has been much maligned, is getting better, even though it was never bad. After the near débâcle of last March and April when the rebels were breaking through everywhere, the two big labor unions, the U. G. T. and the C. N. T., respectively Socialist and Anarcho-Syndicalist, arrived at a peace pact. They have stopped their implacable warfare and seem to be working together fairly well.

The Communist Party, which last March was on the verge of being thrown out of the government, has increased its prestige by its practical way of taking hold of army organization and other problems, and is firmly supporting the Negrin government. One hears murmurs against this union. The Communist Party is not and never will be popular in Spain, and it knows it. But the Negrin government realizes that republican Spain has been thrown into the arms of Soviet Russia by the "democratic powers," which have not only abandoned it to its fate but tried to sell it out to Mussolini. The American arms embargo, which the Spaniard in his patiently bewildered way is quite unable to understand in the light of the liberal pronouncements of America's President, has also played its unfortunate role in increasing Spain's dependence on Russia. Parenthetically let it be said that the embargo has not soured Spaniards on the United States; people and President are still ace high in their minds.

The most serious aspect of the Loyalists' situation is the shortage of food, about which something drastic must be done. Arms and munitions are being supplied, though the French border is definitely closed and has been for three or four months. I knew from report that nothing but oil and gasoline, which are not on the "non-intervention" contraband list, was being let through, notwithstanding contrary stories published in the American press. I have just been through the main border gateway and found this all too true. Roads which when I passed there at various times in the spring swarmed with huge vans were now almost deserted. The government manufactures its arms or gets them otherwise, as best it may, but none come across the French border. In the meantime the rebels have established a new port of entry for arms —Castellon, near Valencia, where huge quantities arrive daily from Italy.

Nevertheless, in the civilian areas as among the men at the front there is a feeling that a favorable turning-point in the war has come. A little book recently published in Barcelona is receiving wide attention. It traces a parallel between the Napoleonic invasion of 1808-13 and the present "foreign invasion" and shows that by 1811 the French armies, commanded by Napoleon and his best generals, had taken almost all of Spain, including Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia. The cause of Spanish independence seemed dark. Yet by the next year the French had been pushed back to the far northern and eastern border. Soon they were making their last disastrous stand at Vitoria. Wellington, it is true, came to help the discouraged Spaniards, driven into a corner at Cadiz. When I asked, "But where is your Wellington?" I was proudly told by a division commander, "Our Wellington is our army and the people who are solidly behind it. The foreign invader may have arms, but we have the people, and so we shall win." The earnestness with which such sentiments are uttered is impressive.

But the nightmare of international diplomacy still casts its shadow across the Spanish scene. Hardly had the press heralded the new light of peace shining over Europe when one read the expected announcement that the great powers were now turning their attention to Spain: conversations were taking place among Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini on that score. Almost simultaneously came Premier Negrin's speech before the Cortes stating that Spaniards would have to settle their differences among themselves, without outside interference. This statement may be taken as the keynote of the government attitude. No good for Spain is seen in a conference in which Mussolini is a chief participant. The Barcelona government knows that only the unlimited sacrifices of the people have so far preserved the national integrity against the "arrangements" of the great powers. One cannot believe that it will allow those sacrifices to have been in vain by submitting now. Any government even suspected of entertaining thoughts of an "arrangement" entailing surrender of Spanish interests would be turned out of office by the proletarian masses and the army. Certainly Negrin, who with del Vayo is considered to have saved Spain from surrender last spring, who pursued successfully a deliberate policy of frustrating Anglo-Italian designs, and who revivified the war spirit at the darkest moment, is hardly the man to surrender now. The general knowledge of that fact is the main reason for his strength.

It is true that "political elements," as the expression goes in Spain, in the civilian "rearguard" have used their positions to attempt to reach understandings with "political elements" of the opposite side. But their efforts do not represent the *politique* of the government, which stands squarely on the thirteen points enunciated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Premier Negrin last spring. The chief of these points was the preservation of the constitutional republic. Among the soldiers in the front lines one finds only contempt for the kind of peace talk that envisages weak-kneed compromises. Recently I visited the headquarters of the Fifth Army Corps, up in the Sierra de Caballos, and the veteran corps commander, Lieutenant Colonel Enrique Lister, one of the famous organizers of the defense of Madrid, expounded his views to me on the subject of peace negotiations. They are worth quoting as being representative of the army point of view.

"We all know," he said, "about certain gentlemen in the civilian rear who talk of compromise with the enemy. We know they have their comfortable bank accounts in foreign countries to which they could easily escape. Life in foreign capitals is *muy bonita*—very lovely—for the voluntary Spanish exile with a bank account. But it is a terrible thing for the poor refugee who has nothing. And life would be insupportable for the unfortunate ones left behind to face the repressions of the victorious enemy.

"No, the war can only be ended by a military blow—such a blow as our army must deliver. There cannot be two Spains, one republican and the other fascist. The army and the people know this, and the people are a great moral force which will drive the army to victory.

"You ask me what will happen in conquered territory when we win? We shall do our best to pacify the population everywhere and take up the task of serious reconstruction. There must be amnesty for the soldiers who have borne the brunt of the fighting and for all who out of honest conviction have sided with the enemy. We want no persecutions. But there must be no amnesty for traitors and criminals like Franco and Queipo, who sold Spain to the foreigner.

"Franco is on very shaky ground. That is the universal report of the prisoners we take. He is pure *fachada*—façade. The Carlists and the Falangists are at each other's throats, and Franco is too much of a weakling to hold them together. The army sees that he is a braggart rather than a general and leader. It is tired of his repeated promises of quick victory and anxious to go home. Our crossing of the Ebro in July was hidden from the population for weeks, and when the facts could no longer be denied it was explained that we had rashly walked into a trap and would soon be annihilated. As a matter of fact, our crossing of the Ebro was the greatest blow suffered by the rebels in a long time. When it was effected we were in a bad way. In the Levante the rebels were making progress toward Valencia and the rich orange-growing region, while in Andalusia they were threatening the valuable mercury mines at Almaden. By one blow all this was stopped. We advanced to the very suburbs of Gandesa, menacing the enemy's communications. So long as we are here this menace exists, and the enemy can do nothing elsewhere, as has been proved."

Pocket Guide

BY HELEN WOODWARD

BETTER WAIT until December before you buy Florida oranges, lemons, and grapefruit. They'll be ripe then. They are juicier and sweeter than those of California. That is because Florida gets more rain, especially if, as this year, it has had a rainy season. If you began to buy your Florida oranges in October you may have been disappointed. They were probably picked before they were ripe.

Florida has only a short growing season, while California grows oranges throughout the year. The Florida growers, to compete with California, are anxious to have their fruit on sale as long as possible, so they send it to market too early, say the latter part of October. It hasn't been fully developed, and so the first fruit sold is dry and sour. As the season goes on, Florida fruit becomes delicious (to my mind, the best).

Sweet and juicy citrus fruit is grown also in Oklahoma and the Rio Grande valley in Texas, but in such small quantity that it hardly figures in countrywide markets.

One trouble about California fruit is that irrigation is never as good as rain. The water coming through the ground absorbs salts and deposits them and makes the ground excessively alkaline. The same thing is true of places which are entirely watered by streams that come down from mountains. Rain water is free from all this.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE has been labeling meat for quality for some time, but you may not know it. Most people are used to the government stamp, "U. S. Inspected and Passed." That is compulsory and means that the meat is free from disease. It has nothing to do with the quality of the meat. The quality stamp is not compulsory. Of course it wouldn't do any good if the department put merely one stamp on a whole steer. It has got to be where you can see it every time you go to your butcher, and so the stamp is repeated all the way down the back of the animal. The government stamps for quality are as follows:

Grade	*Beef, veal, lamb, mutton*	*Pork*	*Sausage*
1st	Prime	No. 1	U.S. No. 1
2d	Choice	No. 2	
3d	Good	No. 3	
4th	Medium	No. 4	
5th	Plain or Common	No. 5	

You can get *Prime* meat in high-priced hotels. Few butchers carry it because it is so expensive. The best grade which most butchers carry is *Choice*, and that is very good. It goes without saying that most people in the United States think themselves lucky if they get *Medium* or *Plain*.

You may go to half a dozen butcher shops before you find one which sells meat so graded. Though the use of the label is spreading, the butchers don't like it. Like all other business men, they shy off from government regulation. The butcher may be perfectly honest and doing the best he can for you, but he may be untrained, may not know how to judge the quality of meat, just as he may not know how to cut the meat properly for cooking. (Try him on *escalope de veau* or, if you like the name better, *Wiener Schnitzel*.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you want to know more about meat, write to the Consumers' Counsel Division, Department of Agriculture, and ask for the booklet "Meat Grades at Your Service." It's free.

But why does the Department of Agriculture use grade names which have to be explained and memorized? Why not call the grades 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and then use the same grading for everything, whether meat, cereal, or canned goods?

IN *EDITOR AND PUBLISHER* there was a bitter wail from the advertising manager of some New England newspapers. How did the publisher expect him to sell advertising space when the editors spread bad times and depression all over page one? The advertising managers, whatever they may think about President Roosevelt, believe that fewer attacks on the New Deal would mean more advertising for the paper.

IN THE last few years stores which sell things to women have been skiing down the mountain on the idea that they must fire all their middle-aged salespeople and get in young and pretty college girls with refined accents. And if they could get girls with New York's foolish finishing-school accent, everything would be just lovely. Customers would feel that they were dealing with a ritzy firm and would be charmed by the courtesy of these supposedly well-bred young women. Also, they would be ashamed to pick the cheaper quality in the face of the girl behind the counter—said girl being obviously used to the nicer things in life.

It was a heart-breaking business for the older saleswomen, who lost their jobs by the thousands. They couldn't go to any other store for a job because the other store was firing its own middle-aged women. But it wasn't only middle-aged women who were let go. Many young women who had only a grade-school education were also fired, regardless of their records. Here and there a store, like Lane Bryant and Bloomingdale's, resisted the fad, but some of the biggest and best-known stores fell for it hard. Sometimes whole departments were fired at one time.

Well, it gives me the greatest satisfaction to record here that this wonderful idea has proved a flop. *Women's Wear,* ablest of trade magazines, says that most stores were hurt by it. The scheme worked all right if the store's trade came from the same kind of people as the new young saleswomen. But, says *Women's Wear:*

> What happened when the customers were of humbler and less independent caliber? . . . Many of them were overawed by the superiority of the sales persons and resented a manner which they could neither ignore nor imitate. They were at a disadvantage and they loathed it. Also—they carried their business to more unpretentious stores and wrote us about it. . . . An overbearing salesgirl will arouse a degree of protest in a simpler type of customer that is fatal to business dealings between them. And a sensitive person without much confidence is more apt to misunderstand the *grande dame* manner of a sophisticated salesgirl than to be flattered by service from her.

To this I should like to add the comment of one customer: "The department store thinks it won't do to have girls like me work for them, but it's all right for me to buy from them. Of course I resent it!"

But I wonder what has happened to all those patient and experienced saleswomen who lost their jobs?

In the Wind

WHILE SECRECY still surrounds the details of Hitler's meetings with Neville Chamberlain, this anecdote is now current among European correspondents. When Chamberlain visited Berchtesgaden Hitler greeted him with the words: "I am very glad to meet you. Of course I have read your book and I am glad you are an anti-Semite. But I cannot understand how a man of your excellent qualities could have been a friend of Stresemann." The book referred to was written by Houston Stewart Chamberlain; the friend of Stresemann was Austin Chamberlain.

NOT LONG ago newspapers featured Carole Lombard's startling announcement that she was "happy and proud" to pay taxes. Although the story made front-page news, it was frowned upon by Hollywood magnates. And a reporter for the *Oregon Progressive,* who wanted her to elaborate her statement in an interview, was informed by studio publicity men that "the story is closed; orders have come down that there is no more to be said about it."

INFLUENCED BY Japan's growing friendship for Germany, Japanese toy-makers recently began to use images of Hitler in their products. This trend has been officially condemned; the manufacturers have been informed that "reference to Chancellor Hitler . . . in articles serving to amuse children" might be considered "disrespectful to the executive of a friendly government."

THE WASHINGTON *POST* recently carried a story quoting John Biggers, Census Administrator, as lamenting the large increase of women workers; the implication of his statement was that women were filling jobs when they were not economically compelled to work. The same issue of the *Post* recorded the details of a riot which occurred when 20,000 women fought violently with one another on the waiting-line at the office of the Civil Service Commission in a struggle to get the 1,200 application blanks available for jobs as charwomen.

WHEN PRIME MINISTER CHAMBERLAIN interrupted his address to Parliament on September 28 to announce the receipt of a message from Hitler proposing a conference at Munich, word of this dramatic incident flashed at once to newspapers everywhere. As soon as the news reached the South Wales *Echo,* a reporter telephoned his wife to tell her what had happened. She informed him that she "knew it an hour ago." The wife of a man working in one of the biggest industrial concerns in South Wales had telephoned her seeking confirmation of the report that Hitler had proposed such a meeting. That report had been circulated in the office of the industrial concern soon after three o'clock—before Mr. Chamberlain received with "surprise" the message which interrupted his speech.

[*We invite readers to submit material for In the Wind. The $5 prize for the best item submitted during October goes to the contributor—anonymous for obvious reasons—of the item about Hitler's Nürnberg address published two weeks ago.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I HAVE had many responses to my Issues and Men of September 17, in which I criticized as vigorously as I could Bishop Manning's appeal to the public to give him a million dollars more to put into bricks and mortar, stones and statuary for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Ninety-eight per cent of these communications have approved the position that I took, and they are still coming in—the latest to arrive being from a clergyman eighty years of age who writes the warmest approval. One curious thing has, however, happened. Through my clipping bureau there has come to me from a number of small-town newspapers a "canned" editorial headed Strange Obsession—one of those that are sold by a syndicate to a large number of newspapers that cannot afford to have their own editorial writers.

The argument is as follows—I quote it exactly:

> Mr. Villard seems obsessed with the trite and outworn theory that static money is all that is needed to rebuild human welfare. What is needed, on the contrary, is live money, representing men at work, machinery in motion, smoke from brick kilns, gasoline pouring from refineries. Bishop Manning would make live dollars out of dead ones. Mr. Villard would keep them dead.

The editorial goes on to say that my "indignation illustrates nicely what's wrong with much present-day thinking," and it explains to my dull brain that "the money sought by Bishop Manning would come from well-to-do people, and is now surplus kept for miscellaneous purposes. It is dead capital, performing no social good. If released it would flow into the channels of industry. As Mr. Villard inadvertently concedes, it would buy bricks."

This is really delightful reasoning. It is the same old defense that has been made from time immemorial for the wasteful extravagances of the rich. Let them build their palaces and marble swimming baths and huge yachts and all the rest; that employs labor and gives work to tradesmen, brick-layers, and stone-cutters. Well, in the first place that wasn't the basis of Bishop Manning's appeal—at least not what I saw. It is to his credit that he didn't trot out this hoary, old, fallacious argument. His appeal was for the glory of God and a further recognition of the Kingdom of Heaven. It was to make it possible for his congregation to worship under more beautiful arches, with more statues of the Apostles and more stained-glass windows. He wasn't setting himself up as a competitor to the WPA. The government, too, has been pouring out money for buildings in order to provide work and stimulate the building trades and that has been defensible as an emergency measure. Indeed, the construction of decent homes for our workers at a loss to the government would be proper and entirely defensible at any time. Wiping out the slums would produce enormous dividends in the improved health, morality, and happiness of our people.

If Bishop Manning had appealed to us for a million dollars to build a block of homes for people of small means to take the place of the horrible overcrowding that goes on right around his cathedral, and had declared that this would make for the glory of God and the Kingdom of Heaven, I should certainly not have criticized him—only praised. For I know what the conditions around St. John the Divine are if he doesn't. I was the vice-chairman of Mayor LaGuardia's committee to investigate the causes of the Harlem riots, and we saw revealed in all their shame the disgraceful conditions making for immorality, crime, and human misery which exist within a stone's throw of the Bishop. I should like to ask the unknown author of that hypocritical editorial —for it sounds to me as if the writer had had his tongue in his cheek—whether that wouldn't be a better human investment than putting a million dollars into the completion of a great church which will be largely filled only on special occasions, such as Easter and Christmas.

Finally, as to the economic argument—it is incredible how economic error persists. This use of surplus wealth is, I repeat, economically speaking, entirely unproductive. It is not creating any continuing benefit whatsoever. It is not erecting factories or shops or building steamships or articles of continuing usefulness. If the idea is merely to help workers in certain of the building trades, why the same object would be achieved by hiring the same number of men to sweep the streets or to build a needless monument. I feel just as badly over the news that Congress is now going to spend millions upon millions for a great memorial to Thomas Jefferson as a companion piece to that to Abraham Lincoln on the axis of the White House in Washington. It's going to spoil part of a beautiful park and, oh, how unnecessary it is! I wonder that Thomas Jefferson doesn't rise in his grave to protest and to say that there are statues enough of him, and for God's sake take that money and really relieve the human needs of some of our starving millions—lest democracy perish. He certainly needs no stone memorials to make his fame imperishable!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

CHILDHOOD UNDER THE NAZIS

To the Literary Editor: A few days ago I received from The Nation *for review a copy of Erika Mann's "School for Barbarians" (Modern Age Books, 50 cents). It is an immensely important book, surprisingly informative even for one who thinks he knows the subject. I have not read a more moving book for a long time, and I am sure every reader will have the same deep experience. It should have more notice than a simple review. Therefore I propose that you print instead the introduction which Thomas Mann has written to the work of his daughter. It is at once the best, most just, and most revealing review that could possibly be written of Miss Mann's volume. It provides a thorough analysis of the book and at the same time completes its significance as a sweeping condemnation of Nazi "philosophy."*

FRANZ HOELLERING

THROUGHOUT my whole long journey from East to West and back again across the vast continental stretches, the author of this book, my dear daughter Erika, was beside me; her faithful help enabled me to meet the demands of an enterprise, fruitful and gratifying indeed, yet at the same time not always easy. How often did she not act as interpreter between me and the public; both with the press and when, after a lecture, I was questioned by the audience! I would answer in German, English being still rather hard for me, and she would skilfully translate—skilfully and, as I think, very much to the advantage of my replies; since there was added to their content the charm of a sweeter voice and the animation of a gifted and intellectual feminine personality.

Accordingly my pleasure is great in being able to act the interpreter in turn between her and the American public, and to introduce her book to readers who are interested in the political and moral problems of the day. It has a repellent subject, this book: it tells, out of fulness of knowledge, of education in Nazi Germany and of what National Socialism understands by this word. Yet strangely enough, the book is the opposite of repellent. For even its pain and anger are appealing, while the author's sense of humor, her power of seeing "the funny side," the gentle mockery in which she clothes her scorn go far to make our horror dissolve in mirth. It enfolds the unlovely facts in a grace of style and a critical lucidity, and most consolingly opposes to the shocking and negative qualities of malice and falsity the positive and righteous force of reason and human goodness.

The fundamental theme of the book, education in Germany, proves to be an extraordinarily fruitful point of departure for an exposition of the whole National Socialist point of view. That it should be a woman who has chosen it is not strange, but it is surprising to see what a comprehensive and fully informed portrayal of the totalitarian state results from this deliberate limitation to a single theme. The picture is so complete that a foreigner wishing to penetrate into that uncanny world might say that he knows it after he has read this book. All the grim concentration of the present German leaders on the single thought of the power of the state, all their desperate determination to subordinate to that idea the whole intellectual and spiritual life of the nation, without one single human reservation—all of it comes out with startling clarity in this description and analysis, accompanied by a wealth of only too convincing detail on the National Socialist educational program.

I say program because it is of the future. It is an inexorable first draft of what the German of the future is to be. Nothing escapes it. With iron consistency and relentlessness, fanatically, deliberately, meticulously, the Nazis have gone about putting this one single idea into practice and applying it to each and every department and phase of education. The result is that education is never for its own sake; its content is never confined to training, culture, knowledge, the furtherance of human advancement through instruction. Indeed, it has sole reference, often enough with implication of violence, to the fixed idea of national preeminence and warlike preparedness.

The issue is clear. It is a radical renunciation—ascetic in the worst sense of the word—of the claims of mind and spirit; and in these words I include the conceptions truth, knowledge, justice—in short, all the highest and purest endeavors of which humanity is capable. Once, in times now forgotten, we knew a definition: "To be German means to do a thing for its own sake." The words have lost all meaning. German youth is to devote itself to nothing for its own sake, for everything is politically conditioned, everything shaped and circumscribed to a political end. The sense of objective truth is done to death; it is referred to something outside itself, to a purpose which must be a German purpose—the purpose of the state to have absolute power over the minds of men within its borders, and to extend its power beyond them.

Such an arbitrary purpose, such a permeation of all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

truth and all research with political aims, makes us shudder; and the shudder is even more physical than it is moral. The program is so violent, so unhealthy, so convulsive that it thereby betrays how ill-adapted it is to the nature of the people upon whom it is inflicted—or rather, who believe that they must inflict it upon themselves. The glory of the German nation has always lain in a freedom which is the opposite of patriotic narrow-mindedness, and in a special and objective relation to mind. Germany gave birth to the phrase: "Patriotism corrupts history." It was Goethe who said that. The true and extra-political nature of this people, its true vocation to mind and spirit, becomes clear today in the very immoderation, the "thoroughness," with which it abjures its best, its classic characteristics, offering them up on the altar of totalitarian politics at the behest of leaders who do not feel the sacrifice. This people of the "middle" is in actual fact a people of extremes. Shall we have power, shall we be political? Then away with spirit, away with truth and justice, independent knowledge and culture! Heroically it throws its humanity overboard, to put itself in alignment for world-mastery.

Should not one remind them of the words of the Scriptures: "What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The words do not deny the existence of power. They do assert the truth that power must have content and meaning, an inner justification in order to be genuine, tenable, and recognized by mankind; and that this justification comes only from spirit. Is it not hopeless folly to seek after a good by means which emasculate and demolish the very good one is striving for? How do the German people and their leaders picture to themselves the exercise of a European hegemony paid for by such moral and intellectual sacrifices as are demanded by the National Socialist plan of education? Have, in fact, a people any calling to power when they must make such sacrifices to achieve it? When they must put at their head all the lowest and basest elements, all the worst and crudest, most un- and anti-intellectual, and give these absolute power over themselves?

Is the world to be won over in such wise, even after one has dominated it? Can a power persist and be applied, when it had to assert itself against the whole pressure of scorn and hatred which such methods invariably call forth? Is it not indeed a pathetic delusion that a people who have put themselves or been put in the position of the German people today could ever conquer anything? A people intellectually debased and impoverished, morally degraded—and they expect to conquer the earth! It makes one laugh. We do not get the better of others by destroying ourselves; and nothing is more foolish than to take all idealism for stupidity. Truth and the freedom to seek it are not luxury products which enervate a people and unfit them for the struggle of life. They belong to life; they are life's daily bread. The saying, "Truth is what profits me," springs from the depths, from the convulsions of an anti-idealistic ideal which deludes nobody, uses nobody to its own good, but simply hastens its own collapse. It is an open secret that German science is deteriorating, that Germany is falling behind in all the domains of the intellect. The process will go irresistibly on; it will be irretrievably consummated, in fact, if the sort of people who have the say today are given enough time to put into execution their malignant program of national "fitness."

I join with the author of this book in the hope that the higher gifts and necessities of the German people may assert themselves betimes against presumptions so false and so hostile to life and to the human spirit.

THOMAS MANN

(Reprinted by permission of Modern Age Books.)

The Advertising Art

IT'S AN ART. By Helen Woodward. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

HELEN WOODWARD and James Rorty are the two worst headaches of the noble profession of advertising. Expert copy-writers both, they have no illusions about their erstwhile occupation, and do not hesitate to say so. But in this new book Mrs. Woodward is not so much the completely disillusioned critic as a skeptical investigator, appraising advertising with only normal prejudice. How good is it? How bad is it? What new techniques is it employing? What is its place in the American economy?

Advertising, she says, is neither better nor worse than the business men who pay for it. Advertisements have probably helped to give many people better-looking and cleaner houses and better-balanced meals. Sometimes the meals look more attractive than they taste. Advertisements have stimulated other appetites which cannot be satisfied on prevailing low incomes and thus have probably brought the revolution nearer. Although advertisers fear centralization in politics, they promote it in industry by making it very hard for local enterprises to get started. Every national advertising campaign is furthermore a careful piece of economic planning. Fortunately for the wayfaring consumer, the profession has too many confusions and contradictions to use its power to the full.

I was particularly interested in an expert's appraisal of the changes that have come over advertising in the last ten years. Here are some of them:

Improved organization in agencies, depriving the copywriter of his commissions as well as his adventurous status.

Increased use of polls, surveys, questionnaires, displacing hunches, gambling, and whimsy.

Agile jump of hunches, gambling, and whimsy to the air. "On radio, advertising is back where it was in 1906."

A great new audience, aged four to thirteen, seduced by badges, premiums, detective clubs; approached not only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over the air but also through schools, comic strips, 4H clubs, and children's magazines. The kiddies are being knocked through the ropes.

Liquor advertising on a mammoth scale.

Big black type and ugly layouts coming back in ads addressed to he-men.

Less doctrinal matter by the patent-medicine fraternity; food products and cigarettes substituted to cure what ails you.

A little more protection for the customer through laws, organizations, and uneasy consciences in the agencies.

Mrs. Woodward has the book well larded with inside stories about the marketing of automobiles, cosmetics, political attitudes. She reports on the chain-store situation, predicts a boom in cooperatives, drops hints to epicures and buyers of whiskey, relates anecdotes from her copy-writing experience. She has converted some ponderous figures into good reading. The only word I can find to complain about is the verb *to ad-say*. She explains that *Time* took its style from copy-writers and passed it on to novelists; so perhaps she is entitled to her ad-sayings.

She has written about advertising before, but never I think so well. If you have any interest in food, drink, tobacco, automobiles, or the manufacturing of propaganda, you ought to read her book. It does not do to sneer exclusively at an art which is as American as the movies, baseball, or the five-ring circus. Better to look it over carefully and find its place in the broad structure of American culture. No one is better equipped to do this than Mrs. Woodward. It is a privilege and a pleasure to follow her through the museum.

STUART CHASE

Chamberlain, Sleepwalker

WHILE ENGLAND SLEPT. A SURVEY OF WORLD AFFAIRS, 1932-1938. By Winston S. Churchill. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $4.

"WHILE England slept"—these three words are the best possible description of England's foreign policy under Prime Ministers Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, and Neville Chamberlain. But to draw the conclusion that England has now awakened would be a little exaggerated after the bitter experiences of the last weeks. For a sleeping man can walk sometimes in his dreams, and a sleeping Prime Minister can fly sometimes to Munich.

Winston Churchill is today the most eloquent and active representative of Tory democracy, of the British political philosophy which was founded by Benjamin Disraeli, the Jewish statesman who gave new vigor to the British Lion, was further developed by Winston Churchill's father, Randolph Churchill, and was finally consolidated by Joseph Chamberlain, the father of the present Prime Minister, who is a Chamberlain in nothing but his name.

This book is a collection of Churchill's speeches on foreign affairs and national defense between 1932 and 1938. The selection was made by Winston Churchill's brilliant son, Randolph Churchill. The book is divided into three parts, which bear the fateful names: Germany Disarmed, Germany Rearming, and Germany Armed.

In 1933 Churchill made a nice little speech to the Royal Society of St. George. It was a candid description of the so-called method of peaceful negotiation as used by the so-called democratic powers today. Churchill asked his public how St. George would behave in our own time if he had to liberate the beautiful girl from the brutality of the dragon. Our modern St. George would propose a conference with the dragon and make a trade agreement with him, and the maiden's rescue would be referred to Geneva, the dragon reserving all his rights meanwhile. Churchill composed his amusing sketch five years before the Nazi dragon ate up Austria and Czechoslovakia. We could add that the modern St. George would also declare that we must trust the dragon and that a dragon never lies.

Churchill's book reminds the reader that on March 14, 1938, a few days after the conquest of Austria, Field Marshall Göring in the name of the German government assured the Czechoslovak government of Germany's determination to respect the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, and the British government took formal note of this assurance. Hitler's government kept its promise for the long period of six months. Winston Churchill belongs to the small group of British statesmen who never have been deceived by Nazi promises. Since the beginning of the Third Reich Churchill has understood the immense danger which Hitler represents for the British Empire and for the international ideal of freedom and democracy. Churchill always recommended a strong alliance between England and France and a union of all the other peaceful nations upon the basis of the League of Nations in order to stop the progress of the dictators. He understood that Britain must rearm in the face of the Nazi mentality and that the British air force must be increased as quickly as possible if England were not to become one day the prey of Nazi blackmail. He saw all the dreadful consequences of the annihilation of independent Austria and warned the British public that much worse consequences would follow if Czechoslovakia also should fall a victim to Hitler's energy and "democratic" weakness.

Churchill deserves great credit for his clear vision and courageous attitude, but nevertheless there are certain frontiers which he cannot cross. Perhaps the most important speech of this book is the statement in January, 1937, on the Lagging Program, the inadequacy of the British air defense. The Baldwin government had promised that England's air force would contain on March 31, 1937, 124 complete squadrons of modern fighting airplanes. But on January 27, 1937, Winston Churchill proved in the House of Commons that the strength of the British Air Force on March 31 would not be more than 78 squadrons! Churchill stressed the fact, but he concealed from the British public information on how such an enormous miscalculation had become possible. In former years responsible British Ministers have always promised that the British air force would reach very soon a parity with the German air force. Now this promise has been forgotten, and everybody accepts German superiority in the air as a fact which cannot be changed.

But at the same time the British taxpayer spends an enormous amount every year for rearmament, and the industry of the British Empire is much more efficient than German industry. Why, then, is England not able to oppose at least

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two British bombers to one German bomber and to destroy by this achievement the Nazi scare? Are there perhaps some influential people in England who do not want England's air force to become stronger than Hitler's? Churchill is an honest democrat, but he was born a member of England's governing class, and he has never been able to go beyond his own class. Therefore he cannot tell the whole truth to his people. The pro-fascist group in the English and French upper classes do not regard Hitler as their enemy. They do not want to fight Hitler, for Hitler's defeat would destroy their most valuable international asset.

Churchill always advised the House of Commons to stand by France. But the last weeks have disclosed the extraordinary fact that France was not ready to use English assistance. Churchill and the Tory democrats, together with the Labor Party, compelled the Chamberlain government to give the necessary assurance to France. But as France is not a great power any more, the basis for Churchill's political strategy as it is developed in this book does not exist any more.

The fight against fascism will be continued in Europe even after the Czechoslovakian defeat, and British democracy will be one of the best forces in this struggle in spite of Neville Chamberlain. Churchill's speeches, as they are collected in this book, will have a place in history as a noble expression of the British democracy when it was preparing for the decisive battle against fascism abroad and defeatism at home.

ARTHUR ROSENBERG

The Dithyrambic Novel

THE BLACK BOOK. By Lawrence Durrell. Paris: The Obelisk Press. 75 francs.

THE newest type of prose fiction but a few years since, the irrational fable of Franz Kafka recently has lost its place. Its successor is the genre represented by the amazing performance "The Black Book," by Lawrence Durrell, a young Irish-Englishman who was born in Burma some twenty-seven years ago, lived at the Tibetan frontier till he was fourteen or fifteen, at present resides in Corfu, and is the author of a volume of verse and two novels published under a pseudonym.

This usurping type of fiction may be called the dithyrambic novel, since it is a species of intense and smoldering lyricism. Its basis appears to be not a series of pictures causally ordered and connected but a wild musical mood from which poetic ideas have risen. Indeed, the definition of dionysiac or dithyrambic lyricism furnished by Nietzsche in "The Birth of Tragedy" describes this ultra-modern newcomer with astonishing precision. Like Nietzsche's dithyrambic poets the novelists who speak in the first person singular in this new genre plainly have identified themselves with "the pain and contradictions of the primordial unity" and have produced copies of this pain and conflict as music which partly has become visible to them in symbolic dream-pictures. Durrell's "book of the English death," as he calls it, is, for example, "musical" in form and style. Like music his prose is a flowing series of voluminal expansions and contractions, achieved in this instance with the sonorous use of words. And it presents us with a dreamlike sequence of pictures, the passions, deeds, words, and ridiculous and wretched lives of a group of pathetic scarecrows in an English hotel and an English commercial school which seem indefinitely to flow into one another. These grotesque, obscene, decrepit, and God-forsaken characters—hypochondriacs, people obsessed with their own sexuality and possessing the miserable vices of schoolboys, erotomaniacs, bluestockings, prostitutes, and of course a homosexual—are sketchy but mordant, in instances comic and in others touching, symbolic projections of advanced stages of the present almost worldwide disintegration of life. And through the actions of these characters and the direct, partly ironic and partly nostalgic lyricism, we feel more than the author's own deep hurt and fear and disgust of life, and the pain of the conflict born of simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from it. We feel something of the pain of present existence itself, filled with self-contempt and fear of emasculation and further degradation—the life of millions driven and sunken into themselves and unable to go "over the top" of their own beings—and something of its lurid poetry and color.

Another of the authors of this recent category is the Parisian-American Henry Miller, who possibly is the largest personal force lately risen on the horizon of American letters. It is his press which has issued "The Black Book." For the moment Durrell none the less would seem to be the leader in the new genre, if only for the reason that the material in this volume to a degree is rhythmically and significantly organized. The organization is not a complete one. The last of the novel's three sections seems relatively monotonous and repetitive. Still, Durrell has observation, wit, speed, a spark of genius, and more than a spark of poetry. If in a few instances his exceedingly aggressive exploitation of coarse language outstripping that in "Lady Chatterley's Lover" is productive of powerful cold and brutal effects, his use of the less vulgar idiom in many cases is richly suggestive and evocative. The feeling both of Corfu and of South London breathes sharply through it. It is to be regretted that the likelihood of an American edition of the work seems small.

Many persons will wonder whether the work indicates an end or a beginning. My own feeling is that the question can be answered only by Durrell himself in the form of another novel. T. S. Eliot, at least, considers "The Black Book" a beginning. In a commendatory word on the cover he called the volume "the first piece of work by a new English writer to give me any hope for the future of prose fiction." Indubitably the phrase reflects parental vanity. For in certain connections the Durrell novel may be thought of as an individual prose development of "The Waste Land": more modern Prince Hamlet music with symbolical pictures —possibly less languid and ironical than Eliot's, more aggressive but in the last analysis equally melancholy. And Eliot would seem not to be without cognizance of this fact, since he rather pointedly also has written, "If he [Durrell] has been influenced by any writer of my generation, the influences have been digested and he has produced something different." Yet his apparent relationship is in no wise discreditable to the young novelist. It merely is another indication of the size of the evolutionary role which Eliot's brilliant poem is playing in the world.

PAUL ROSENFELD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Japan's Drive for Empire

IMPERIAL JAPAN: 1926-1938. By A. Morgan Young. William Morrow and Company. $3.

SOME nine years ago A. Morgan Young, editor of the *Japan Chronicle* of Kobe, published a book on Japan covering the 1912-26 era. It still remains one of the best accounts of the first period in which Japan openly sought exclusive hegemony in eastern Asia. He now issues the sequel dealing with Japan's current—and more determined—challenge for mastery of the Far East. During ten of the years since 1926 Mr. Young was constantly engaged in editing the most trenchant English-language newspaper in Japan. His ability and effectiveness were recognized by the Japanese authorities in 1937, when they refused him a return visa to Japan after a furlough in England.

From the mass of material which flowed across his editorial desk he has sifted out the significant items in the domestic and foreign-political currents of Japan's swiftly moving development since 1926. The result is a robust, full-bodied account of Japan—racy, anecdotal, unsparing, and revelatory of behind-the-scenes intrigue and maneuver. Generalizations are largely avoided, but the concrete, detailed illustrations of Japan's cynical drive toward power in all its manifestations are more convincing than the most closely reasoned analysis.

He places the "zero hour" of Japan's latest offensive in June, 1927, when the Far Eastern Conference of the Japanese military convened at Tokyo under General Tanaka's sponsorship. The grand strategy of the offensive was mapped out at this conference, and Mr. Young believes that its findings are correctly represented by the famous Tanaka Memorial. The two Japanese interventions in Shantung province (1927 and 1928-29) immediately followed, as well as the murder of Chang Tso-lin at Mukden in June, 1928. With world depression creating favorable international auspices in September, 1931, the invasion of Manchuria was launched. The policy underlying this move, however, had been formulated some four years earlier at the Far Eastern Conference.

An epoch whose central feature was represented by ruthless territorial aggression necessarily connoted reaction and dictatorship in domestic politics. Mr. Young's chapters afford a running commentary on this ruling theme of Japan's recent political evolution. His inside details of the struggle between the military and the civilians in the last Minseito Cabinet of 1929-31 constitute an epitaph on liberal government in Japan. Thereafter Japan's liberals carried on a rearguard campaign, unable to meet the enemy's combined tactics of assassination, army conspiracies, and independent military action in China. In his discussion of the farcical trials of the Japanese terrorists, of the hounding of liberal thinkers such as Dr. Minobe, of the destruction of a free press, of the elimination of independent thought and the revival of reactionary ideology, and of the murders of liberal Japanese officials, the author summarizes the methods by which the Japanese people have been dragooned into acceptance of Japan's new drive for empire. Short of complete overthrow of the military-fascist clique which has fastened its rule on Japan, it becomes clear that no enduring peace can be established in the Far East. Freedom of life and a decent existence

19TH CENTURY ART IS DYING....

—but 19th-Century politics and sociology are already dead. Yet liberals still talk about "free competition" and collective security." And not a few radicals in this age of science still wrestle with the metaphysical abstractions of Hegel and his followers. If you are tired of *both,* try a typical issue of

COMMON SENSE

● **DR. DEWEY AND MR. HINES**

In which Tammany paternalism is seen as the least of four rackets that obscure the real reason in the New York gubernatorial campaign *by Eunice Clark*

● **THE CAPITALIST UNDER NAZISM**

Exposing two myths—neither the worker *nor* the capitalist benefits by National Socialism. This article clearly demonstrates who *does.* *by Peter F. Drucker*

● **TWO MORE YEARS!**

The most radical member of the last Congress looks at the New Deal, finds it wanting and proposes an economic course that is practical as well as original. *by Thomas R. Amlie*

● **SNOW WHITE AND THE 8 GIANTS**

The first of three sensational articles on America's biggest monopoly. The Department of Justice is investigating Hollywood. Here are some angles it may overlook. . . . *by Herbert Harris*

● **CATHOLICISM AND PLANNING**

Are the two incompatible? Is the Church necessarily the bulwark of the status quo? America's foremost progressive Catholic chooses a path that may be historic. *by Msgr. John A. Ryan*

● **AFTER MUNICH—WHAT?**

The author of "England Expects Every American to Do His Duty" answers the calamity-howlers by placing the recent crisis in its historical setting and proposing a course of action. *by Quincy Howe*

●

These articles, with an editorial on the "religions" of Fascism and Anti-Fascism, letters on the European crisis by Charles A. Beard, Upton Sinclair, Norman Thomas and Thomas Benton, reviews, political paragraphs, etc., make up the November issue of COMMON SENSE. Start your trial subscription with this issue.

COMMON SENSE H
315 Fourth Avenue, New York

I enclose one dollar. Please send me COMMON SENSE for seven months.

Name.....

Address.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the Japanese people depend equally on the collapse of this ruling caste.

These main theses of Mr. Young's book, implicit in his array of facts rather than explicitly stated, are supplemented by material of great value on subsidiary topics. The illuminating biographical sketches of Japanese military, political, and business personages, slipped in unobtrusively at various points, help to fix in mind the names and roles of significant individuals. Japan's varied activities in China since 1927 in the course of preparing and carrying out its conquest are briefly but effectively handled. The ideology of the "chosen race" and of "manifest destiny," which clings to exponents of the divine mission of descendants of the Sun Goddess, is given its proper—and important—place. The picture which emerges is hardly reassuring, but its accuracy cannot be disputed. Mr. Young's easy style, by smoothing the path for the general reader, should add to the influence which his book deserves to exert.

T. A. BISSON

Artist of Montmartre

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. By Gerstle Mack. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THE life of Toulouse-Lautrec was touching. Born of aristocratic parents who were first cousins and whose stock had been depleted by fatigue and previous intermarriages, his health was uncertain from the very start. He could play only the less strenuous games until he was thirteen. Then, within little more than a year, he broke both legs. A little later all his limbs shriveled, and he became a man with the body of a dwarf.

This stunted being was obviously unfit for the sportsman's career traditional in his family. Indeed, almost everything due a man was barred to him. His only recourse was art. Devoted to it since childhood and unquestionably gifted, he was permitted to enter an atelier as soon as he had finished the lycée, and at twenty, having finished with teachers, he was ready to begin on his own. Fortunately his parents again intervened (as they did throughout his life); so that he could rent a studio in Montmartre and start his excursions into its demi-monde as an economically self-sufficient entity.

The year was 1884, when Montmartre was still a village above Paris. The criminals hid there, life went on all night, brothels were always open, hard dancers kicked and flashed in the Moulin Rouge, a new artist like Bruant sang songs of the people, the cafes seemed to burn with some light intenser than day, everything was incandescent and shadowed. Such was the territory of Lautrec. Night after night he came. And then, each day afterward, he would recapture his beloved in his paintings, lithographs, posters, and illustrations. Constant drinking increased his excitement. And since he was too hideous to be loved, his only possibility of surcease was in the houses of prostitution. There, at least, among the debased and hopeless, his deformities were not held against him.

But always the light—the hard, dry, probing light of the night city—gave him a joy which he could recover and enlarge in his own work. So he produced his tributes: his 130 paintings, nearly 400 lithographs, many illustrations and posters. In these were revealed the man's own delicacy—particularly, one might say, in the lithographs. From excessive drinking, careless living, and general breakdown the decay of his body had been completed by 1901, and he died at thirty-seven, a gallant, aborted, unhappy, yet gleeful being who had put down something eternally true of cities and men's lives in them.

All this is in Mr. Mack's biography, complete, unmitigated, authoritative. It stands, indeed, as the first solid study of Toulouse-Lautrec to be published in English. While perhaps not the equal of Joyant in general sensibility and depth, or of MacOrlan in literary values (both unfortunately in French), it gives something which they do not, namely, a thorough documentation not only of the works but of the milieu of Toulouse-Lautrec—the theaters, the bars, the circuses, the racetracks, the cafes and those who inhabited them—the coarse La Goulues and delicate Jane Avrils and febrile Yvette Guilberts, as well as the poor, perverted, giddy, or spendthrift ones who peopled that fabulous and terrible quarter of late nineteenth-century Paris. As such it is a kind of map to accompany Lautrec's prophecy. More, too, it is an essential introduction to the deformed, yet not unblessed, little nobleman, the last in his line, who probed to the bottom of a social cancer and thus brought a new surgical ray to its treatment. Accordingly, it makes us think not only of art but of those remedial measures which may proceed from a light as unsparing as his.

JEROME MELLQUIST

Life of Thomas Paine

THOMAS PAINE, LIBERATOR. By Frank Smith. Frederick A. Stokes Company. $3.

TWO men in the eighteenth century served the cause of revolution on both sides of the Atlantic. Lafayette became "the hero of two worlds." Thomas Paine has always been assigned a minor place in our histories of the time. Frank Smith, in the present biography, sets out to show that Paine has been done an injustice. "The plain historic facts," he says, "provide his claim to the grateful recognition of the democratic peoples." And the author knows a great many facts, for his book, though printed without the apparatus of research, springs from long familiarity with the subject and independent work with the sources. The book is an excellent guide to the events of Paine's career: how he came to America at the age of thirty-seven, was drawn into the revolution, and discovered his talent for pamphleteering, rallying thousands to independence with "Common Sense" and keeping up their morale with timely numbers of the *American Crisis;* how he insisted on exposing the graft in the shipment of French goods to America; how, after the war, he planned to build a bridge over the Schuylkill and went to Europe to consult engineers and have a model cast; how, in England when the French Revolution broke out, he defended its principles against Burke in the "Rights of Man," and joined forces with those who were crying for reform in England; how he was made an honorary citizen of France and became one of two foreigners elected to the National Convention; how he languished in prison almost a year during the Terror, and wrote the "Age of Reason" to fight what he took to be the menace of atheism in France, producing a deistic tract which horrified

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

good Christians; and how at last he got back to America, to find himself no longer respectable in a country that was no longer revolutionary, and regarded as the "filthy little atheist" that Theodore Roosevelt called him a century later.

Such in a broad way are the "plain historic facts," and it is well to have another readable biography to make them known. Mr. Smith presents them, however, with an interpretation at which many readers will be disconcerted. Quite properly, he notes the importance of economic circumstances in shaping Paine's opinions, and calls attention to the ideas in which Paine anticipated the more modern reforming movement. These ideas seem hardly to have gone beyond a genuine concern for the working class and the suggestion of old-age pensions and high taxation of the rich. The author uses good judgment in not exaggerating their importance. He is open to criticism on another score. Though he refers occasionally to class conflict, his picture of the American Revolution is essentially that of our patriotic myth. There are the Hessians, as brutal as in the school books, and the tattered Continentals, stalwart and valiant. The rebellious colonists are "the Americans," other Americans are the "loyalist faction"; the British authorities are "invaders," and the British government proposes to subdue the colonists "as ruthlessly as Clive had subdued the natives of India." Reaching the French Revolution, the author reveals the influence of the school of Mathiez. He is aware of the economic interests that divided France, and dismisses the Girondins, more sharply than most followers of Mathiez do, as "the mere agents of a minority class." But the class interpretation is not really carried through, for the events of the Revolution are usually ascribed to a united France. The habit of assimilating the revolutionists to an abstract "nation" or unanalyzed "people" is one which historians of both the right and left, in the past generation, have seriously criticized.

What has happened is that Mr. Smith has almost completely identified himself with Thomas Paine. He sees events about as Paine saw them, as a struggle of peoples against tyrants and selfish factions. The chief point on which he seems to differ with his hero is in the matter of the Girondins, for Paine was a Girondin, and Mr. Smith obviously prefers the Jacobins. Even so, when Paine is in prison, the Jacobins become guilty of a "homicidal tendency." Like Paine himself, the author ascribes the length of Paine's imprisonment partly to the machinations of Gouverneur Morris, the American Minister at Paris who had no love for radicals. Like Paine himself, he feels that 90 per cent of the English people were stirred by the revolutionary philosophy, and that Christianity was almost eradicated from France in 1794. We are not told to what extent the arguments in the "Age of Reason" were commonplaces of eighteenth-century thought. Immoderate language in Paine comes from a "lucid and straightforward mind," but in his adversaries it is "frantic billingsgate."

Tom Paine was an important man, and his principles are eminently worth defending. But he was not "the greatest dreamer of them all." Nor was he the Rousseau of the English Reform Bill of 1832. So far as that act had a Rousseau it was Jeremy Bentham, who thought the natural-rights philosophy sheer mystification. Mr. Smith weakens his argument by his partiality, for he makes the reader wonder what

VICTIMS OF NAZISM

Driven

FROM GERMANY
TO AUSTRIA

FROM AUSTRIA
TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NOW, FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA
TO_____?

70,000 VICTIMS OF THE FASCIST ONSLAUGHT
70,000 VICTIMS OF THE MUNICH "PEACE."

Among these are the families of the men who, to the end, fought the Nazi invasion.

Only money rushed to them at once, can snatch them from Hitler's clutches. If they are left stranded in Czechoslovakia they will be herded back to concentration camps, slavery—or death!

—They have no government to defend them against their enemy.

—They have no army to fight for them.

—They have not even a bread line to stand on.

—They have not even a hole in the earth to hide in.

FOR THEY ARE UTTERLY ABANDONED, BETRAYED!

With your help they can be removed to safer territory. They can be maintained until we find permanent refuge for them.

The INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION has cared for these families in Austria, removed them to Czechoslovakia and cared for them to date. They need food, shelter, clothing. And they need it *NOW!*

MAKE THEIR CAUSE YOUR OWN!
GIVE!!!

FOUNDED BY
Albert Einstein
Kaethe Kollowitz
Graf G. Von Arco
Eduard Fuchs
Helen Stoecker
Carl Von Ossietzky

OFFICERS
Charles A. Beard
Hon. Chairman
Sterling D. Spero
Vice-Chairman
Freda Kirchwey
Treasurer
Sheba Strunsky
Executive Sec.

FREDA KIRCHWEY, *Treasurer*
INTERNATIONAL RELIEF ASSOCIATION
Room 310, 20 Vesey Street, New York City

I herewith contribute $..... to aid the victims of Nazi Oppression in Czechoslovakia.

Name.....

Address.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may be said on the other side. There is no analysis of Paine's thought, only a repeated statement that it was humane and progressive; no attempt to consider whether Paine, in his intransigent smashing of idols, may not have helped reaction more than progress. The notion that Paine was a habitual drunkard is rightly scouted, but little is said of weaknesses that he more probably possessed—vanity, tactlessness, and impatience which apparently made him an awkward associate even for his friends. We are given to believe that if Paine failed to become a great historical figure it is because the forces of piety and reaction were leagued against him. Other revolutionaries have triumphed over that handicap. Why not Paine? The puzzle is not solved. R. R. PALMER

A Poet's Life

EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON. By Herman Hagedorn. The Macmillan Company. $3.

ROBINSON'S life is so patterned, so directed into a scheme by a way of belief, that it seems almost a work of art itself. It cannot be dissociated from his poetry. Robinson, if anyone, realized that a man could become "whole" only through the fantasy of his art. Therefore he allowed nothing to interfere with what he must do, believing, as he did, that "the man who fixes on something definite in life that he must do, at the expense of everything else, if necessary, has presumably got something that, for him, should be recognized as the Inner Fire." Robinson, in other words, charted his life for poetical exploration. With all the austerity inbred in him as a New Englander, he intensified, for the sake of his art, his own austerity and that of his people, until austerity became its opposite, a vision based on negation. He studied failures in our social scheme as examples of spiritual success and of society's failure.

Mr. Hagedorn has written this biography with tenderness but with something of the quality of understatement that was Robinson's own. It is a very moving story about a life in which, outwardly, nothing dramatic took place, unless quiet renunciation for the sake of a purpose steadily held is dramatic.

Yankee, born in Maine, Robinson lived his life in New England—save for secluded winters, later, in New York. He was the last child in his family and assumed responsibility for his brothers, who disintegrated slowly under his eyes, and for his aging father and mother. The one least able to cope with practical affairs, he was, in the long run, most forced to it. That his townspeople thought him a waster hurt him but did not confuse him. Not even the long years of failure to publish—for Robinson began writing before editors were receptive to his work—could kill his will to express in art what he knew of life. Finally, as everyone knows, Theodore Roosevelt took charge and presented the poet with a review of his book, a job, and a publisher—Scribner's. The worst was over.

There followed the years of writing all summer at Peterboro, of contact with a slowly enlarging group of friends. This man who did not choose often to enter people's lives save through the imagination impressed everyone. He loved a few friends dearly. He renounced marriage for his writing —or so this book implies. Possibly he was too conditioned to living within himself to be unafraid of love. His friendship was deep, but never stated except as a shy New Englander might state it.

The quiet close of the life is like the quiet opening. Robinson dying was as courteous and shy as he had been living. The complete dignity of the man is undeniable. And before he died he had written the poem "King Jasper," his one "treastise on economics," as he called it, a symbolic drama of the disintegration of the capitalist system. In the tragic end of the poem only Zöe is left alive, and we have the poet's word for it that, to him, Zöe meant knowledge. Without ignorance, he explained, there can be no knowledge. Again, in such a statement, the poet was asserting that out of what seemed horror might come an awareness of new values in the world. EDA LOU WALTON

Shorter Notices

CLOUDY TROPHY. THE ROMANCE OF VICTOR HUGO. By Léon Daudet. William Morrow. $2.50.

Léon Daudet presents Victor Hugo in his bedroom slippers. Often he has not even them on. The picture is not a lovely one, nor is it new. After his wife's infidelity with his best friend and severest critic, Sainte-Beuve, the demi-god began a romance with the actress Juliette Drouet which was to last a half-century. Of the gossip and mud that resulted M. Daudet has gathered together a sizable clod and invented corresponding details. He says of Hugo that "to grasp his pen in his fingers brought him a similar pleasure to that of clasping a woman in his arms." In "Cloudy Trophy" we get a prolonged glimpse of the poet while he was relieving his writer's cramp in other exercises. The book is frankly meant to be sensational. One might have thought that a leader of the French royalist party and former deputy had better things to do while waiting for the Duc de Guise to ascend the throne. The publisher's insistence in a footnote and on the jacket that Léon Daudet is the grandson of Victor Hugo shows that he has read carelessly the dedication "to my son Charles Daudet, great-grandson of Victor Hugo, grandson of Alphonse Daudet and Charles Hugo." The author of "Cloudy Trophy" and about ninety other works is the son of the novelist Alphonse Daudet, who did not marry either of the Hugo girls, of whom one was drowned in 1843 and the other—probably the daughter of Sainte-Beuve anyway, as M. Daudet assures us without proof—went mad during the long exile at Guernsey. With a little patience the real relationship—in case it matters—can be worked out from the dedication. The translation contains some howlers of which even a polemicist like Léon Daudet could not be guilty.

THE LONDON MISCELLANY. Compiled by Robert Harling. Oxford University Press. $3.

A comprehensive miscellany of London life in the nineteenth century would be a most useful and illuminating book. For in the minds of contemporary Englishmen London loomed large as a fascinating and horrible fact; it was the controversion of all proper living, the result and the symbol of industrialism, and if there were a few writers, like Lamb,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who loved the city, they expressed their affection with a consciousness of perversity. But Mr. Harling disavows any intention other than that of being amusing. He relies on relatively few authors, and those upon whom he draws most heavily seem to attract him merely by their quaintness. It is hard to understand why he so completely ignored that treasure house of material on London life, *Punch*—why, for example, he did not make use of *Punch's* long campaign against the "mud-salad" streets which gives such an excellent notion of the look of the city in the latter part of the century. And of the notable—even classic—descriptions of or responses to nineteenth-century London which fill English literature, Mr. Harling includes almost none.

DRAMA

The New Hamlet

THE production of "Hamlet" at the St. James Theater is a triumph for Maurice Evans. It is also, however, a triumph with, not a triumph over, the author of the play, and would be notable for that if it were notable for nothing else. Mr. Evans shows his respect for the dramatist's intention by playing more of his text than I have ever heard given on any stage before, but that is not the only tribute he pays to an author who presumably knew his business. Both the star and his director, Margaret Webster, seem to have agreed that the best "interpretation" which can be given the play is the one which emerges when each scene is allowed just the degree of prominence it has in the text itself, and the result is to convince one that Shakespeare builded better, if not than he knew, then better at least than anyone else is likely to know. In recent years most actors who have won celebrity in the role have proceeded upon a contrary assumption. They have cast about for some novel, often eccentric "interpretation" of the character and then arranged a text as well as a performance designed for the express purpose of making that interpretation seem as probable and as satisfactory as possible. The result, even when more or less interesting, has usually been something less than "Hamlet" as Shakespeare wrote it, and the distinction between their attitude and that of those responsible for the present performance is much the same as that nice one preserved in theatrical publicity between "starring" and "featuring." However it may actually be billed, this is not "Maurice Evans in 'Hamlet.'" It is "'Hamlet' with Maurice Evans."

To say this is of course not to deny that there are certain choices which any actor undertaking the role must make, and Mr. Evans, following the trend of some recent criticism, apparently tends to feel that too much can be made of Hamlet's infirmity of purpose, and even of his antic disposition. Without completely obscuring either, he makes the Prince princely, a young man who may have moments when he considers things too curiously or surrenders himself to black melancholy, but a young man who has, nevertheless, both more respect for action and more capacity to act than Hamlet is sometimes given credit for. This tendency has its dangers, for to read Dover Wilson on the subject of Hamlet as a hero in the conventional sense is to wonder if this resolute man is not Hamlet with Hamlet left out, and even in Mr. Evans's performance two of the most famous speeches—"To be or not to be" and "Oh, that this too, too solid flesh would melt"—seem slightly out of place for the simple reason that they are explicit revelations of a mood otherwise little in evidence. But the fault, if fault it is, is less prominent in the production as a whole than may seem to be indicated when it is thus singled out, and the performance is actually better balanced than any other it has recently been my privilege to see. Certainly it is far more satisfactory than either that of John Gielgud, which was vastly overpraised, or that of Leslie Howard, which was given less than its due. The latter presented a Hamlet who was charming and humorous but too little besides; the former, a prince who went into tantrums instead of rages and was guilty at times of something distressingly like mere sniveling. Mr. Evans is manly as well as sensitive, passionate as well as subtle.

Though he consulted the writings of Dover Wilson before deciding just what constitutes the full text he had decided to play, Mr. Evans does not appear to have followed Wilson in some of the startling emendations which the latter made or in his suggestions for staging certain of the scenes. Indeed, the one eccentricity of the present performance consists in the total omission of the dumb show; and except for a fine bit of business, new at least to me, in connection with the speech beginning "Look on this picture and on that," there is little that is strikingly novel in the actual setting forth of the action. There are, on the other hand, fine performances

INTRODUCTORY OFFER—*13 issues of the Manchester Guardian Weekly for* **$1**

To form sound judgments on crucial events, whether in Europe, Palestine or China, you require complete unbiased news from abroad and candid interpretations prepared by the best minds in Europe.

For more than a century, *The Manchester Guardian* has been recognized as Europe's leading liberal paper. It presents to well-informed English-speaking people who live outside of England the complete news of public affairs plus interpretation from the critical, liberal point of view. As the weekly edition of the *Manchester Guardian Daily,* it offers, too, the most interesting of the special articles which have appeared in the *Daily* on a great variety of events—political, historical, economic, religious, literary, dramatic and scientific. In actual square inches devoted to editorial matter, each issue measures the equivalent of 66 pages of the ordinary American news weekly.

Hundrds of *Nation* readers find *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* indispensable. We think that you will, too, if yu take advantage of our offer of thirteen weeks for one dollar—less than 8c a copy including postage from Manchester, England, to your home.

Mail the order form at once!

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY
220 West 42nd Street, New York City.

I enclose a dollar for your 13 weeks' trial offer of *THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY.*

10-29-38

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in all the chief roles, and several of them are, without being in any way odd or strange, sufficiently different in emphasis from others seen recently in New York to deserve comment. Two years ago Judith Anderson played the Queen with a certain sultry intensity which somehow suggested not only that she knew her husband had been murdered but that she had, in all probability, first suggested his taking off. Mady Christians in the present production gives a fine performance dominated by a conception completely different, that of a woman pretty rather than magnificent and the victim of a sensuality rather aimable than dark. And while Ophelia is commonly played as a mere stylized puppet, Katherine Locke attempts with striking success the experiment of presenting her "straight"; that is to say, as a gentle, essentially normal human being even more conspicuously unfit than Hamlet himself is commonly supposed to be for the role in which fate has cast her. George Graham's Polonius, Donald Randolph's Horatio, and Whitford Kane's First Grave Digger are all excellent though more conventional.

There is no evidence that either Shakespeare's contemporaries or those who came immediately after were aware that Hamlet was first of all a "problem." There is no reason to believe that they thought of him as more mysterious than any complex human being inevitably is, or supposed, to put the fact more precisely, that the actor could not act the play or the spectator enjoy it unless both were in possession of some unique key capable of unlocking an obscure secret. All too many modern actors in the part have thought just that, and the result has been a tendency which probably reached its climax when John Barrymore seemed to suggest that Freud alone could explain a mystery never understood before. But a Hamlet who is explained in any such fashion is a Hamlet who is also explained away, and the result is inevitably a play far less rich and subtle than the text actually presents. Perhaps no higher compliment can be paid the present production than that implied in saying that while it minimizes Hamlet as a problem it restores "Hamlet" as a play. Mr. Evans presents not a riddle to be solved in terms of some abstract proposition but a character whom one understands in the same way and to the same imperfect degree that one understands any complex personality.

I shall have to postpone until next week comment on another remarkable performance in another impressive play—that of Raymond Massey in Robert Sherwood's "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" (Plymouth Theater).

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

CONTINUING with phonographs from where I left off recently, I can now report that the best buy in table-model radio-phonographs is the Lafayette C-13 at $52.50 (A.C.), a seven-tube combination of three-band radio and phonograph that has good, full tone with well-balanced treble and bass. At this price it comes with a Garrard motor and a Shure straight-arm crystal pick-up; and I suggest paying $3 more, for which the machine will come equipped with a Garrard assembly (on a mounting plate) that includes the superior Garrard crystal pick-up with true-tangent arm. The good quality of this table model is due partly to its size; smaller is the D-64 at $35.95, a seven-tube combination of two-band radio and phonograph, which is deficient in bass but otherwise a satisfying machine for a person with only a very small amount to spend. In this instance, too, I would recommend paying the additional $3 for the Garrard assembly. On the other hand I don't recommend paying $64.95 for the C-28, the nine-tube table model.

Not all the other Lafayette machines were on the floor; and I could not hear the fifteen-tube C-32 advertised in *The Nation* of October 15, or the phonographs without radio (console and table models), or the A.C.-D.C. sets—all of which I will report on later. But I did hear the C-22 advertised in *The Nation* of October 1—a nine-tube combination set with a Garrard automatic assembly, which has a strong, clear tone with plenty of bass and treble, and which I consider an excellent buy. The C-23 at $82.50—the same machine but non-automatic and with a Shure pick-up—sounds very poor; but for $85.50 it can be had with the Garrard non-automatic assembly which will make it identical with the C-22 except for the record-changer. The eleven-tube automatic BB-35 at $124.50 has, of course, more power and depth, but its treble is a little weak for its bass; and again one can have the same set equipped with Garrard non-automatic assembly by paying $102.50 instead of $99.50 for the BB-48.

Acting on several favorable reports I heard the Andrea eleven-tube combination set (8-E-11) which at $199 (A.C.) turned out to be an outstanding medium-priced machine. For purposes of comparison I went back to hear the Ansley D-25 immediately afterward, and was impressed again by the qualities that had impressed me the first time; but the tone of the Andrea has a little more of the Ansley's depth and richness. On the other hand the Andrea's treble is not only clear and strong but a trifle hard, which the Ansley's is not; and the Andrea turn-table and pick-up are awkward to get at.

On Columbia singles are fine performances of Liszt's "Au bord d'une source" by Kentner and Debussy's "Fireworks" by Ciampi, excellently recorded ($1.50); Weingartner's recording of "The Beautiful Blue Danube" waltz ($1.50), from which I could get nothing but gritty reproduction; songs—"Songs of the Plains" and "The White Whirlwind," "The Boatmen of the Volga" and the song of the village mayor from Rimsky's "May Night"—superbly sung by the Choir of the Red Army of the U. S. S. R. (two records, $1 each); and the sextet from "Lucia" ($1.50), taken from Columbia's complete set of the opera (thirteen records, $19.50), which is made with good voices but without the style that can give this work dignity and impressiveness.

I have enjoyed the solos in the "Dogtown Blues" of Bob Crosby's band (Decca); the Ella Fitzgerald–Chick Webb version of "A-Tisket A-Tasket" (Decca); Rushing's singing and some of the playing in what are, however, not outstanding records by Basie's band—"Stop Beatin' Round the Mulberry Bush" and "London Bridge Is Falling Down," "Mama Don't Want No Peas," "Doggin' Around" (Decca); and Ellington's "Exposition Swing" (Brunswick), which also is good but not outstanding.

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

A Solution for Palestine

Dear Sirs: Albert Viton has described the war in Palestine in all its horror from the point of view of an impartial war correspondent (*The Nation*, October 4). But war correspondence is not enough. We who live in the country, both Arabs and Jews, must look for the causes of the struggle and attempt to find a solution that will end civil strife.

Grave apprehensions about the struggle of the Arab people in Palestine are prevalent in America. The Mufti is a bogyman created by Zionist propagandists to convince the world that reaction is behind all the trouble. That is not true. The struggle of the Arabs in Palestine is a wide movement with definite points which the vast majority of the people supports. It is on these points that we must come to terms with the 400,000 Jews in the country. Let us see what they are:

1. Immigration. The progressive Arabs realize the terrible plight of the Jews in fascist countries. They declare their staunch opposition to fascism because it is the oppressor of their Arab brethren, the Tripolitans. They know that Mussolini is exploiting the Arab movement for his own imperialist designs. They believe that everything should be done to arrange places of refuge for Jewish victims of the fascist terror. However, Palestine alone cannot solve this problem. It simply does not have the capacity.

Immigration into Palestine is the concern of the whole Palestine population. It should not be left in the hands of either the imperial government or the Jewish Agency. There should be a Palestine Democratic Council elected on the basis of proportional representation. This council should define and limit immigration. Immigration into Palestine cannot be unlimited without harming the present population, both Arab and Jewish.

2. Land. The purchase of land by Zionist capitalists and its sale by Arab landlords cannot be allowed to go on unhampered. The tillers of the land should have a say in the matter. We demand security for the tenant farmers. The Arabs would have no objection to the immediate setting up of a permanent mixed commission with full jurisdiction over these two complicated questions.

3. Democracy for Palestine. The government of Palestine should, of course, be a democracy representing the whole of the Palestine population and not an imperialist bureaucracy following a policy of division, provocation, intimidation, and annihilation of all civil liberties. The Arabs want a Palestinian constitution to safeguard the rights of all sections of the population. The Jews would have at the very least complete cultural and municipal autonomy (such as was offered to the Sudeten Germans by the Czechs, which the Sudeten Germans will have reason to regret was not accepted).

The struggle of the Arab people is a struggle to achieve these aims. It is neither a racial, nor a fanatically religious, nor a fascist anti-Semitic struggle. Unfortunately, events in Palestine are discrediting this struggle. The Arab masses denounce the killing of innocent children, women, and men. The Arab people refuse to be considered as represented by the elements which commit such crimes. But let it not be forgotten that there is a strong revisionist (fascist) party among the Zionists that has for years carried on a campaign of terror against the Arabs. Let it not be forgotten that imperialism in Palestine harbors its ghastly terror. "Reprisals" it is called in polite British circles. I do not say this to justify terror. Terror from any side is altogether detestable.

I must thank the New York *Day* for its frankness in declaring that "Zionists cannot agree to any conference on the basis of giving up Zionism." We Arabs are equally frank and openly declare that we cannot agree to Zionism if it means, in the words of Weizmann, that "Palestine should be as Jewish as England is English." We cannot agree to making Palestine a Jewish state. Nor can we agree to the indefinite sale of land. The Zionists like to bring forward the tricky imperialist promise of Balfour. Some Arabs continually cite the tricky imperialist promise to King Hussein. But arguing over conflicting imperialist promises about the disposition of territory which did not belong to the imperialist powers but, if I may quote your Abraham Lincoln, "to the people who inhabit it," will get us nowhere.

The Jews, who are subject to inhuman oppression by the dictatorships, will surely not allow themselves to be used as the tools of some Zionist leaders and of the imperialists to oppress another people. They will help and not oppose the aspirations of the Arabs to federation and independence.

Arabian Jews living in countries bordering on Palestine—they number several hundred thousand—do not show any sympathy with Zionist anti-Arab designs as some Zionist leaders would want them to. Zionist organs would do well to stop shedding tears for them and allow them to live in peace with their neighbors. Zionists should heed the repeated declarations of the Egyptian and Iraq Jews that they will in no way associate themselves with Zionism.

I should like to say in conclusion that I still have strong hope for a satisfactory settlement—a hope arising from the fact that many of the Zionist leaders are beginning to reconcile themselves to the facts and are losing their sole fixation of a Jewish State in Palestine. They are beginning to understand the aims of the Arabs and the possibility, the necessity, for the Jewish people to join hands with the Arab people to build a free, united, democratic Palestine. They are opposing those Zionist leaders who would accept the partition of the tiny country because they want a "state" even if it is a lamentable, doomed, unviable thing resembling an infant born with a head but no body. They know that such a "state" would benefit only British imperialism. And they are realizing more than ever the madness of those Zionists who would take Palestine by force.

Once the unity of Jew and Arab has been achieved, Britain will have no choice but to abandon the mandate, as it was forced to do in Iraq, and sign a treaty of friendship with the new Palestinian state. Peace would then reign once more in the troubled Holy Land.

RAIF N. KHURI
Palestine Arab Delegate to the
Second World Youth Congress
New York, October 13

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Seidman's "Labor Czars"

Dear Sirs: May I have a few lines to express a mild but very firm protest against Philip Taft's review of Harold Seidman's "Labor Czars" in *The Nation* of September 24.

That "Labor Czars" "is mostly warmed over material with a few new ingredients mixed into a rather unpalatable stew" is one way of saying (1) that the book is based on the most complete bibliography of labor racketeering in print; (2) that it includes the very important material made available by the Dewey investigations; (3) that it is popularly written.

"That craft unions breed racketeering" is by no means exclusively "the burden of Mr. Seidman's thesis." Seidman makes clearer than any previous writer on the subject that labor racketeering is related to the excessively "business" point of view of older American labor leaders, which has been so nearly devoid of class content that the difference between "delivering the goods" to union members, on the one hand, and "racketeering," on the other, is very hard to determine; to the "non-partisan" politics of the Gompers school, which led unions by the nose into the corrupt city machines which provided the "protection" necessary to successful racketeering; and to the connivance and encouragement of semi-monopolistic employers, without whose support many labor rackets would have been impossible.

Mr. Seidman is at some pains himself to point out that, as Mr. Taft critically says, "for that matter there have also been a few irregularities in unions organized on an industrial basis." Seidman lists at least six industrially organized groups of workers in this category and discusses many of them.

Finally, Mr. Taft takes Seidman to task for exaggerating the "extent of the problem" and thereby helping to "discredit all forms of labor organization." Well, for the love of Mike, who *is* going to write about labor racketeering? It's there. If friends of labor don't analyze it and write about it, press agents for Mr. Rand and Little Steel will. If a friend of labor who is also a Cowles scholar in government at Yale University will do the job, more power to him. Philip Taft says that once when he called on the leader of an anti-union employers' group looking for information about labor racketeering, he was handed a volume "written by a famous left-wing author," presumably Bill Foster's "Misleaders of Labor." If Mr. Seidman's book takes "a place in the same library," there will be small comfort in it for the library's proprietor.

ROBERT R. R. BROOKS

Williamstown, Mass., October 7

Dear Sirs: In answer to Dr. Brooks's protest, may I say that though a complete bibliography and popular writing are very desirable virtues, a serious work must ultimately be judged by its contents. Aside from the new material unearthed by the Dewey investigation, there is nothing in the volume that has not been published before, some of it many times. Also the new material adds nothing to an understanding of the problem.

It seems to me that my criticism is not affected by Dr. Brooks's comments. Mr. Seidman's volume is mainly directed against the craft unions, and the other charges are mostly subsidiary. The charges are not substantiated on the basis of the evidence adduced. There are thousands of local craft and "business unions" in the United States, and less than two dozen instances of racketeering—some of them going back to the turn of the century—fail to prove that it is a grave or widespread problem.

Moreover, among the cleanest there are many craft and business unions which have followed the "'non-partisan politics' of the Gompers school"—the typographers, machinists, pattern makers, and the railroad brotherhoods, to mention only a few. Moreover, class content has little to do with corruption inside labor unions, as is evident from the lengthy delinquent delegate lists of a very class-conscious organization.

I never questioned Mr. Seidman's sincerity nor his friendship for labor. Labor always has to meet the attacks of hostile employers, but that is no reason for its friends to help the campaign along.

PHILIP TAFT

Providence, R. I., October 11

Was It Wendell Phillips?

Dear Sirs: "If there is anything under heaven that cannot stand discussion, let it crack!" I have examined this alleged challenge of Wendell Phillips's, and it seems to have a crack in it already. Not in its principle, but in its authenticity. Theodore Schroeder attributed it to Phillips, giving Carlos Martyn's "Wendell Phillips: The Agitator" as his authority, "from memory." If anyone can send me the verified source of this saying in Martyn or elsewhere I shall be very grateful.

THOMAS D. ELIOT

Evanston, Ill., October 4

Shade of Edmund Burke!

Dear Sirs: Edmund Burke said of English foreign policy: "Our dignity? That is gone. I shall say no more about it. Light lie the earth on the ashes of English pride!"

STANLEY D. DODGE

Ann Arbor, Mich., October 15

CONTRIBUTORS

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is the author of a new book on the Northwest, "Our Promised Land," to appear shortly.

LOUIS FISCHER has been *The Nation's* correspondent in Spain since the outbreak of the civil war.

LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH, until recently the Spanish correspondent of the London *Times,* will contribute other articles to *The Nation* on the situation in Spain.

STUART CHASE is coauthor of "Your Money's Worth." His latest book is "The Tyranny of Words."

ARTHUR ROSENBERG was professor of history at the University of Berlin until the Nazis came to power. He went then to the University of Liverpool and later came to the United States, where he is now teaching.

PAUL ROSENFELD is the author of "By Way of Art."

T. A. BISSON is the Foreign Policy Association's Far Eastern expert.

JEROME MELLQUIST frequently writes on art for *The Nation.*

R. R. PALMER is a member of the Department of History at Princeton University.

EDA LOU WALTON is associate professor of English at Washington Square College, New York University.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs, Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED